Photo : Emery Walker.

JOHN MILTON,

At the Age of 62, when Totally Blind.

From the Portrait from Life by William Faithorne, in the National Gallery.

MCGRAW

AREOPAGITICA

LETTER ON EDUCATION
SONNETS, AND PSALMS

BY

JOHN MILTON

With an Introduction by
HENRY MORLEY

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13.8.31

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INTRODUCTION.

In 1640 Milton established his school in Aldersgate, where his sister Anne's two boys, Edward and John Phillips, then aged nine and eight, were among his pupils. There Milton began, in the year 1641, at the age of thirty-two, the second part of his literary life, the period of his prose writing, which divides by an interval of about eighteen years his earlier from his later verse. To the Middle Period belonged only a few short poems, which this volume contains, and the great body of prose, which is here represented by the greatest of his prose works, "Areopagitica," and by the "Letter to Hartlib upon Education." That Milton should put away the art he loved best and had so long studied, and as he himself said, "write with his left hand" during the years of highest power in a man, from thirty-two to fifty, is instructive. He gave himself, as a good citizen should, to the clear utterance of his own voice among the many voices in debate at a great turning point in English history. When the battle of

opinion in which Milton was concerned, and the concurrent appeal to brute force in which he had no concern, had left England trying quietly for a time the experiment of a Restoration of the Stuarts, Milton resumed his singing robes; and his later poems, "Paradise Lost," "Paradise Regained," and "Samson Agonistes," were the nobler for the discipline of self-denial to which Milton had submitted.

In 1641 the question that most occupied the country touched the rights of Bishops of the Church of England. Milton took part in that controversy, which was, according to the manner of the time, by argument, reply, and answer to reply, in books and pamphlets. The gist of his argument was, that opinion should be free in matters of religion. In those days the Church claimed, as it does not now claim, a right to compel assent to its doctrines and ordinances. It had always sought to compel, and Milton agreed with the bishops in believing that it always would. For that reason alone he attacked prelacy. Prelacy as it is now, for the most part working in Christian brotherhood with men differing in doctrine and discipline, seemed in those days beyond hope of attainment. Such a prelacy would have won Milton's respect. His intellectual battle was only with those who would fetter thought. The spirit of the "Areopagitica" is at the heart of all his prose.

In 1643, not many weeks after the surrender of Reading, which had held out against the forces of the Parliament, and where his brother lived as a Royalist lawyer, Milton went through the king's camp at Oxford to take a wife from a Royalist family. He married Mary Powell, daughter of Richard Powell, of Forest Hill, near Oxford. Milton's age was then thirty-five, and Mary Powell was in her eighteenth year. He must have known her during all her life. She was but three years old when her father was familiar enough with Milton, aged twenty, to borrow five hundred pounds of him. If Milton married her, he had seen reason to respect her, and I do not doubt that she was good. But she was taken, young and inexperienced, from such pleasures as were found in the home of a careless father, who borrowed and spent, and a mother whose after conduct proved her to be foolish; and she had to fit herself to new ways of life in the house of the worker. The adjustment of two different lives to a new course, along which the two are hereafter to move as one, can never be without its compromises and concessions on one side and on the other. An inexperienced girl, puzzled by the first discovery of a fact never alluded to in love ditties, might easily find in it matter of annoyance, if she were not sustained over the few difficult weeks or months by a sensible mother in the

background. Mary Powell had not a sensible mother; and in little more than a month after her marriage, when she went home for a visit from which she was to return at Michaelmas, she was detained at home. Milton, when he sent for her, only received insult from her parents, until June, 1645, when the king's cause was lost at Naseby. The Powells then thought it convenient to have a son-in-law upon the winning side, and relying safely upon the gentleness of Milton's character, gave him his wife back. He took her back without reproach, and took into his home for a time her father and mother, while he helped his brother Christopher in measures for the protection of their property. We have no reason whatever for supposing that from that time until her death Milton's marriage with Mary Powell brought him anything but happiness. It was during the two years of his wife's detention from him after the first month of marriage, between June, 1643, and June, 1645, that Milton wrote the two prose pieces contained in this volume.

Milton's position caused him to write in 1644 on the subject of Divorce, because the Westminster Assembly was then sitting for the reform of various Church ordinances, and might be persuaded to accept Milton's opinion. His reasoning was that the spiritual use of marriage is not less important than the corporal, and that if two persons, bound

before the Church, solemnly and separately declared before the congregation that their union was a hindrance instead of a help to the right use of life, the Church that bound them should have power to set them free. That was his whole suggestion, put forth without reference to himself and without passion, but received with much passion because it opposed the belief of a time that allowed separation of man and wife upon no consideration that would separate them from the brutes. If Milton erred, his fault was in regarding marriage as the union of two reasonable minds, for reasonable ends, before God and the Church. But he had no great faith in the Westminster Assembly—in that also the Forcers of Conscience were busy—and side by side with his writing on this subject, he was employing his best powers on the noblest of his prose works, his "Areopagitica, or Defence of the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing."

All progress depends upon the free exchange of thought. Under the Stuarts, thought that was distasteful to the Government had been repressed by decree of the Star Chamber, which sought to add strength to the decrees and ordinances of Elizabeth for the control of the press and staying the expression of adverse opinion. In July, 1637, a stringent decree was issued for the control of printers, booksellers, and the works issued and sold by them, and to restrain unlicensed importation. The

number of master printers, besides His Majesty's and those allowed to the Universities, was limited to twenty, who were named and registered. The number of typefounders was limited to four, and these also were under Government inspection; while there were provisions for the hunting-out of all unlicensed presses.

On the 14th of June, 1643, the Lords and Commons of the Long Parliament issued an Ordinance in the same spirit. Milton believed that in all forms of thought and action the vital principle is Freedom in the action and reaction upon one another of all differing opinions. On this depend the advance of truth and the firm growth of civilisation. He put all his strength into the protest against this action of the Parliament. His pamphlet was published in November, 1644, and, considering its theme and the grandeur of some passages which contain the essence of its argument, it may perhaps be taken for the piece that lies more surely than any other at the very heart of our Prose Literature. It is here printed with a few notes that I appended to it when publishing it some years ago in one of the volumes of my "Library of English Literature."

The "Letter on Education" was addressed to Samuel Hartlib, a Pole by birth, who lived in England and spent all that he had upon the well-being of his adopted country. His grandfather had

been Deputy of the English Trading Company at Dantzic. His father was merchant to the King of Poland. When the Jesuits in Poland were suppressing freedom of opinion, Hartlib's father removed to Elbing, and established there a great commercial house. Members of the family were much bound by marriages to England. Samuel Hartlib first came to England in 1628 or 1630; he interested himself in all things that he thought good for the advancement of society; he wrote four volumes and eight-and-twenty pamphlets; in 1644 he was fellow-author in a "Discourse about Toleration;" and especially he spent money in diffusing knowledge of right principles of agriculture, and laboured for the advance of Education. In Agriculture he is said to have increased largely the wealth of England by introducing the Dutch system of farming. In Education he was concerned chiefly with the problems of the two extremes—how to secure education for all children of the very poor; how to attain the best possible education for the children of the rich, who are willing to pay the costs of an ideal system. It was upon this ideal that in 1644—the year of the "Areopagitica"—he asked his friend Milton to give some opinions. Milton was then doing what he could in his own school, where his boys were the sons of wealthy parents. Cyriac Skinner, to whom two of the sonnets in this volume are addressed, was one

of his old boys. Robert Boyle's sister, Lady Ranelagh, sent her son and also her nephew, the Earl of Barrimore, to Milton's school. The Letter, of course, is Milton's dream of a national system for the highest culture. If it is coloured by ideals from the past, we should remember that our apprehension of it may be also a little coloured by familiarity with the dead matter that encumbers higher education in the present. Our sons are not yet wholly unprovided of what Milton calls "that asinine feast of sow-thistles and brambles which is commonly set before them as all the food and entertainment of their tenderest and most docible age."

H. M.

AREOPAGITICA.*

A SPEECH FOR THE LIBERTY OF UNLICENSED PRINTING, TO THE PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND.

† THEY, who to states ‡ and governors of the Commonwealth direct their speech, High Court of

* *Areopagitica.* Milton takes this name from the Αρειοπαγιτικὸς Λόγος—Oratio Areopagitica—which was directed by Isocrates to the Great Council of Athens, the Areopagus, as this is addressed to the Great Council of England, the Parliament. In both speeches there is an endeavour to produce a change of conduct in the chief assembly. The Athenian Council was so called because its meetings were held on the Hill of Mars (Areios pagos). Isocrates was born in Erecthea, a village of Attica, 436 years before Christ, being seven or eight years older than Plato, his contemporary. His father Theodorus, a rich manufacturer of musical instruments, gave him a good education. He was taught by Gorgias, the founder of the Greek school of rhetoric, by Prodicus, the first of the Sophists who took fees from his pupils, and by Socrates. He lost his patrimony during the Peloponnesian war, and at first earned money by writing defences of accused persons, but soon abandoned this employment, and became a teacher. Isocrates was a man of genius and a true lover of liberty. Though by voice and temperament disqualified for public speaking, he raised the standard of the art of oratory, and taught its principles in a school, established first at Chios, afterwards at Athens, from which, as Cicero said (De Oratore, ii. 3, 10), as from the Trojan horse there came out none but chiefs; Isæus, Lycurgus, Hyperides, Demosthenes, and Timotheus the son of Conon,

Parliament, or wanting such access in a private condition, write that which they foresee may

who won over the allies of Athens by speaking in the generous and noble spirit of his master. Demosthenes, unrivalled in delivery, always regarded his old teacher as his superior in the art of composition. Plato in his Phædrus, a dialogue of Love and Beauty, written when Isocrates was old, but representing an earlier time, makes Socrates say, "Isocrates is still young, but he has too much genius to be compared with Lysias; he shows a greater love for virtue, and I should not be surprised that, as his knowledge increases with his years, he excel all those in the same walk of literature as much as men excel children." Cicero wrote of Isocrates as unrivalled in sweetness of numbers and graces of oratory. Quintilian spoke as highly of his genius, and praised him for having used it always in aid of the cause of virtue. Dionysius of Halicarnassus has left a long criticism on the writings of Isocrates, and especially admired the sound rules of conduct, and the grand principles of political wisdom contained in them. Isocrates lived to the age of ninety-eight, and died in the year B.C. 338, overcome by grief when, as Milton wrote of him in his sonnet to Lady Margaret Lay (page 141), the

> "dishonest victory
> At Chæronea, fatal to liberty,
> Killed with report that old man eloquent."

Of sixty orations by Isocrates which were extant in the time of Plutarch, twenty-one remain. That called the Areopagitic was written about twenty years after the close of the Peloponnesian war, when the Athenians were recovering their lead in Greece, but had fallen from the virtue of their ancient manners. The Council of the Areopagus had influence over manners and religion which was used for good when only men of weight and experience were admitted to it. But in later days the way to the dignity of an Areopagite had been opened to men of lower mark, licentious and corruptible. The object of Isocrates was to urge a restoration of the old simplicity and purity of manners, by a restoration of the old system under

advance the public good; I suppose them as at the

which the Areopagites were patterns as well as guides to the young, and the maintenance by them of religion and morals among the young assured the strength of the Republic. "Virtue," he said (I quote from Dr. John Gillies's translation of the Orations of Lysias and Isocrates, published in 1778), "Virtue is not to be taught by rules; it must be formed by practice and habit; these alone can produce any powerful effect, or any real harmony in the political machine; the number and accuracy of the laws only denotes imperfections. They are mounds to prevent the inundation of vice, but never can give birth to one virtuous action. Such as are wisely governed, therefore, have not their piazzas covered with edicts; they have the principles of justice engraven on their hearts. Without these the best laws can be of no avail; for they only who are well educated are sufficiently prepared to receive them." Wise example of the old, and a firm care over education which did not end with the young, but allowed no young man, rich or poor, to be idle, and checked inclination to frivolity and vice, maintained the health and wealth of the Republic. "I have celebrated," said Isocrates, "the love of equality and every other virtue which tends to preserve the true republican spirit, and have exposed those vices which tend to destroy it;" and he said this at the beginning of a digression in his speech, designed to testify his "detestation against every kind of arbitrary power." A free government, even when ill administered, was better, he said, than the sovereignty of the few. But the Athenians were not to rest content with such comparison as that. "I reproach him for being unworthy of high descent whose conduct is not more noble and generous than that of the vulgar; and with regard to public affairs, I think there is no reason for being satisfied with you, while you only have the advantage over men possessed, as it were, with dæmons, or inspired with madness. Nor ought you to be satisfied with yourselves till you become more worthy of your ancestors; for it is their virtue, and not the worthlessness of tyrants, that you ought to place before

beginning of no mean endeavour, not a little

your eyes." Of such sort was the high thinking that won Milton's regard for Isocrates.

† The essential parts of a speech, according to Aristotle's Rhetoric, are Exordium, Statement, Proof, Peroration. Milton's speech here opens with a skilfully planned exordium, which extends to the first break of paragraph at "set forth by your predecessors." This is the place of the first break in the printing of the original edition. A Latin writer of uncertain name, perhaps the rhetorician Cornificus, defined exordium as "the beginning of a speech by which the mind of the hearer or judge is disposed or prepared for hearing." Milton addresses the Parliament, and has a practical end in view, to persuade it to suppress one of its own edicts. He must begin by disposing the minds of the members to hear argument against themselves. He can do this only by conciliating, as Aristotle had taught, backing his suggestion by quoting from Homer the prayer of Ulysses to Athene, "Grant that I come as a friend to the Phæacians." "And," said Aristotle, "in demonstrative speeches, you should cause the hearer to suppose that he is praised simultaneously with the subject, either in his own person, or his family, or in his maxims of conduct, or at least somehow or other." The reader will observe how artfully, without a sacrifice of what he held to be the truth, Milton blended in his exordium praise of the Parliament for its maxims of conduct with the introduction of his purpose, and made even the fact that he was free to call attention to a fault an argument for higher exaltation of its merits. The opening sentence of the exordium, in direct address to the Parliament, indicates the relation of one who, as a private citizen, through desire for the public good, "at the beginning of no mean endeavour," seeks speech with the rulers of the land. The opening sentence is right in rhetoric and not faulty in grammar; it first presents to the mind of the hearers the absolute substantive idea of citizens who seek by speech or pen to influence their rulers; then associating this with an inflected pronoun, represents their possible attitudes of mind upon the first approach. In the

altered * and moved inwardly in their minds: some with doubt of what will be the success, others with fear of what will be the censure; † some with hope, others with confidence of what they have to speak. And me perhaps each of these dispositions, as the subject was whereon I entered, may have at other times variously affected; and likely might in these foremost expressions now also disclose which of them swayed most, but that the very attempt of this

next sentence he proceeds to his own present attitude of mind, under a like condition, in which warmth of enthusiasm overcomes every consideration. The third sentence joins to enthusiastic regard for the subject to be spoken of, a like regard for the Parliament to which he is about to speak, and the rest of the exordium blends inextricably a statement of no more than the general purpose of the speech—namely, to ask the Parliament to repeal one of its own orders—with suggestions in themselves not less sincere for being designed to conciliate the goodwill of his hearers, and secure for him that he "come as a friend to the Phæacians."

‡ *States*, statesmen. In Milton's translation of Psalm lxxxii. it has been pointed out that he wrote—

> "God in the great assembly stands
> Of kings and lordly states."

* *Altered.* This word was once very commonly used to express change in the condition of the mind. So says Shylock—

> "There is no power in the tongue of man
> To alter me."

† *Censure.* Latin "censura," an assessing, whence the Roman office of "censor;" a judging. From a word meaning, first, to count or reckon with a view to estimating value, then to estimate or judge.

address thus made, and the thought of whom it hath recourse to, hath got the power within me to a passion, far more welcome than incidental to a preface. Which though I stay not to confess ere any ask, I shall be blameless, if it be no other, than the joy and gratulation which it brings to all who wish and promote their country's liberty; whereof this whole discourse proposed will be a certain testimony, if not a trophy.* For this is not the liberty which we can hope, that no grievance ever should arise in the Commonwealth—that let no man in this world expect; but when complaints are freely heard, deeply considered, and speedily reformed, then is the utmost bound of civil liberty attained, that wise men look for. To which if I now manifest by the very sound of this which I shall utter, that we are already in good part arrived, and yet from such a steep disadvantage of

* *A certain testimony, if not a trophy.* If a trophy it would mark the place of a turning back, which it could not do unless Milton prevailed in his argument, and the publication of the "Areopagitica" should mark the date of a reversal of the order for restriction of the freedom of the press. The Greek τροπή means "a turn," and was applied to the tropics where the sun at midsummer and midwinter appears to turn his course; it was applied to the turning of the enemy, and the original trophy was a pile of captured arms fixed on the trunk of a tree to mark the place where battle had been given and the adversary had been forced to retreat from his position.

tyranny and superstition grounded into our principles as was beyond the manhood of a Roman recovery,* it will be attributed first, as is most due, to the strong assistance of God our deliverer, next to your faithful guidance and undaunted wisdom, Lords and Commons of England. Neither is it in God's esteem, the diminution of His glory, when honourable things are spoken of good men and worthy magistrates; which if I now first should begin to do, after so fair a progress of your laudable deeds, and such a long obligement upon the whole realm to your indefatigable virtues, I might be justly reckoned among the tardiest, and the unwillingest of them that praise ye. Nevertheless there being three principal things, without which all praising is but courtship and flattery, First, when that only is praised which is solidly worth praise: next when greatest likelihoods are brought that such things are truly and really in those persons to whom they are ascribed, the other, when he who praises, by showing that such his actual persuasion is of whom he writes, can demonstrate that he flatters not; the former two of these

* *Beyond the manhood of a Roman recovery.* Rome sank as low under the Emperors as England sank under the Stuarts. The Romans could not, but our English manhood could, recover the lost footing.

I have heretofore endeavoured, rescuing the employment from him who went about to impair your merits with a trivial and malignant encomium;* the latter as belonging chiefly to mine own acquittal, that whom I so extolled I did not flatter, hath been reserved opportunely to this occasion. For he who freely magnifies what hath been nobly done, and fears not to declare as freely

* *A trivial and malignant encomium.* Bishop Joseph Hall had given towards the end of 1641 cold praise to the Parliament in his "Defence of the Humble Remonstrance against the Frivolous and False Exceptions of Smectymnuus." Milton replied with "Animadversions;" another, probably Bishop Hall's son, retorted with "A Modest Confutation of a Slanderous and Scurrilous Libel, intituled 'Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence against Smectymnuus.'" Milton completed the argument in 1642 with "An Apology against a Pamphlet called 'A Modest Confutation of the Animadversions of the Remonstrant against Smectymnuus.'" In this he maintained the dignity of the Parliament against a form of encomium that touched on trifles (wherein it was trivial) and avoided recognition of its higher service to the country, therein showing the writer ill-disposed towards it. The word malignant, in the sense of having ill-will to the ruling power, was usually applied to men of the Stuart party, who sought to resist or undermine the authority of Parliament. In the same pamphlet Milton replied with quiet dignity to personal slanders associated with the cry, "You that love Christ and know this miscreant wretch, stone him to death, lest yourselves smart for his impunity," with a simple expression of the true aim of his life, in condemnation of this butcherly speech: "against one who in all his writings spake not that any man's skin should be rased."

what might be done better, gives ye the best covenant of his fidelity; and that his loyalest affection and his hope waits on your proceedings. His highest praising is not flattery, and his plainest advice is a kind of praising; for though I should affirm and hold by argument, that it would fare better with truth, with learning, and the Commonwealth, if one of your published Orders, which I should name, were called in; yet at the same time it could not but much redound to the lustre of your mild and equal government, whenas private persons are hereby animated to think ye better pleased with public advice, than other statists * have been delighted heretofore with public flattery. And men will then see what difference there is between the magnanimity of a triennial † Parliament,

* *Statists.* Statesmen. Our word "statistics" has only by accident become exclusively associated with the figures illustrating the condition of a state.

† *Triennial.* Not here meaning of three years' duration, but guarded, by an Act passed by the Long Parliament, Feb. 15, 1641, against prorogation at the will of the king for indefinite periods, by provision that it should meet at least once in three years. Charles I. had ruled without a Parliament from March 10, 1629, to April 13, 1640; and during those eleven years had extended the power of the Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission, under the control of Laud, while ruling by his own will with the aid of Cabinet or Cabin-councillors, whom only he admitted to his confidence. These were selected favourites. There was no recognised official distinction in

and that jealous haughtiness of prelates and Cabin Counsellors that usurped of late, whenas they shall observe ye in the midst of your victories and successes more gently brooking written exceptions against a voted Order than other Courts, which had produced nothing worth memory but the weak ostentation of wealth, would have endured the least signified dislike at any sudden Proclamation. If I should thus far presume upon the meek demeanour of your civil and gentle greatness, Lords and Commons, as what your published Order hath directly said, that to gainsay, I might defend myself with ease, if any should accuse me of being new or insolent, did they but know how much better I find ye esteem it to imitate the old and elegant humanity of Greece, than the barbaric pride of a Hunnish and Norwegian stateliness. And out of those ages, to whose polite wisdom and letters we owe that we are not yet Goths and Jutlanders, I could name him * who from his private house wrote that

Milton's time between Cabinet Ministers and the rest of the Privy Council. The phrase "Cabinet Council" first appears in English history in the reign of Charles I., when Clarendon says that one of the grounds of Strafford's attainder was a discourse of his "in the Committee of State, which they called the Cabinet Council." The place of the Cabinet in the Privy Council was more fully established in the reign of William III.

* *I could name him.* Isocrates.

discourse to the Parliament of Athens, that persuades them to change the form of democraty which was then established. Such honour was done in those days to men who professed the study of wisdom and eloquence, not only in their own country, but in other lands, that cities and signiories heard them gladly, and with great respect, if they had aught in public to admonish the state. Thus did Dion Prusæus, a stranger and a private orator, counsel the Rhodians against a former edict;* and I abound with other like examples, which to set here would be superfluous. But if from the industry of a life wholly dedicated to studious labours, and those natural endowments haply not the worse for two and fifty degrees of northern latitude, so much must be derogated, as to count me not equal to any of those who had this privilege, I would obtain to be thought not so inferior, as yourselves are superior to the most of them who received their counsel: and how far you excel them, be assured, Lords and Commons, there can no greater testimony appear,

* *Dion Prusæus.* Dion of Prusa, who died A.D. 117, was a famous orator, who in one of his speeches exhorted the Rhodians not to give testimonials to living friends at the expense of the dead, by altering upon old statutes the forms of old worthies, and inscribing them to worthies or unworthies

than when your prudent spirit acknowledges and obeys the voice of reason from what quarter soever it be heard speaking; and renders ye as willing to repeal any Act of your own setting forth, as any set forth by your predecessors.

* If ye be thus resolved, as it were injury to think ye were not, I know not what should withhold me from presenting ye with a fit instance wherein to show both that love of truth which ye eminently profess, and that uprightness of your judgment which is not wont to be partial to yourselves; by judging over again that Order which ye have ordained to regulate Printing. That no book, pamphlet, or paper shall be henceforth printed, unless the same be first approved and licensed by such, or at least one of such as shall be thereto appointed. For that part which preserves justly every man's copy† to himself, or provides

* Here the division of the speech passes, by a skilful transition, to what Aristotle set forth as next following the Exordium, namely, the Statement of the case, and the exordium having opened with the preparation of the hearers' mind for friendly admission of a suggestion that some order of Parliament is to be impugned, the statement now definitely sets forth what the order is, and in what manner that which constitutes Aristotle's third and main part of the oration, the Proof, is to be divided and arranged.

† *Every man's copy to himself.* Copyright. Protection of this "by reason that divers of the Stationers' Company and

for the poor, I touch not, only wish they be not made pretences to abuse and persecute honest and painful men, who offend not in either of these particulars. But that other clause of Licensing Books, which we thought had died with his brother quadragesimal and matrimonial * when the prelates expired, I shall now attend with such a homily, as shall lay before ye, first the inventors of it, to be those whom ye will be loth to own; next what is to be thought in general of reading, whatever sort the books be; and that this Order avails nothing to the suppressing of scandalous, seditious, and libellous books, which were mainly intended to be suppressed. Last, that it will be primely to the discouragement of all learning, and the stop of

others being delinquents (contrary to former orders and the constant custom used among the said company) have taken liberty to print, vend, and publish the most profitable vendible copies of books belonging to the Company and other stationers" formed a clause in the order of Wednesday, June 14th, 1643. But the purport of the whole is expressed in the first part of its title, "An Order of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament for the Regulating of Printing, and for suppressing the great late abuses and frequent disorders in Printing many false, scandalous, seditious, libellous, and unlicensed pamphlets, to the great defamation of Religion and Government."

* *Quadragesimal and matrimonial.* Ecclesiastical Orders as to the keeping of Lent and Marriage Ceremonial. Milton held that there was no ground in Scripture for the claim of an ecclesiastical control over the civil contract of marriage.

Truth, not only by disexercising and blunting our abilities in what we know already, but by hindering and cropping the discovery that might be yet further made both in religious and civil Wisdom.

I deny not, but that it is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth, to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves as well as men; and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors: For books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are; nay, they do preserve as in a vial the purest efficacy and extraction of that living intellect that bred them. I know they are as lively, and as vigorously productive, as those fabulous dragon's teeth;* and being sown up and down, may chance to spring up armed men. And yet, on the other hand, unless wariness be used, as good almost kill a man as kill a good book: who kills a man kills a reasonable creature, God's image; but he who destroys a good book, kills reason itself, kills the image of God, as

* *Those fabulous dragon's teeth.* Cadmus—who is said to have introduced into Greece the use of letters—slew a dragon, and having sown its teeth in the plain there sprung up a crop of armed warriors who contended one with another until only five survived; with the help of these Cadmus built Thebes.

it were in the eye.* Many a man lives a burden to the earth; but a good book is the precious life-blood of a master spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life. 'Tis true, no age can restore a life, whereof perhaps there is no great loss; and revolutions of ages do not oft recover the loss of a rejected truth, for the want of which whole nations fare the worse. We should be wary therefore what persecution we raise against the living labours of public men, how we spill that seasoned life of man, preserved and stored up in books; since we see a kind of homicide may be thus committed, sometimes a martyrdom, and if it extend to the whole impression, a kind of massacre, whereof the execution ends not in the slaying of an elemental life, but strikes at that ethereal and fifth essence,† the breath of reason itself, slays an

* *As it were in the eye.* In men's perception of it. The actual image of God was in the mind that produced the book, and that was indestructible. The book represents that image "in the eye" of the world—the power mankind has of seeing it.

† *Not . . . an elemental life, but . . . that ethereal and fifth essence.* The theory of the quintessence, or fifth essence, was derived from the Platonic notion of superior ideas. Everything below has a celestial pattern and receives power from its own idea through the help of the Soul of the World. Soul being the *primum mobile*, as it may be said, when one man acts upon another, or the loadstone on the iron, that the soul of one thing

immortality rather than a life. But lest I should be condemned of introducing licence, while I oppose licensing, I refuse not the pains to be so much historical, as will serve to show what hath been done by ancient and famous commonwealths, against this disorder, till the very time that this project of licensing crept out of the inquisition, was catched up by our prelates, and hath caught some of our presbyters.*

went out and went into another thing, altering it or its operations, so it is conceived that some such medium is the spirit of the world, called the quintessence, because it is not composed of the four elements, but is a fifth essence, a certain first thing which is above and beside them. This spirit exists in the body of the world, as the human spirit in the body of a man; and as the powers of a man's soul are communicated to the members of his body by his spirit, so, through this mundane spirit, or quintessence, are the powers of the Soul of the World diffused through all things; and there is nothing so base that contains not some spark of its virtue, but there is most virtue in those things wherein this spirit does most abound. It abounds in the celestial bodies, and descends in the rays of the stars, so that things influenced by their rays become conformable to them so far forth in nature. By this spirit, therefore, a very occult property is conveyed into herbs, stones, metals, and animals, through the sun, moon, planets, and through stars higher than the planets. If we can part spirit from matter, or use only those things in which spirit predominates, we can obtain therewith results of great advantage to us. This account of the quintessence and its relation to the old belief in planetary influences is from the first book of Cornelius Agrippa, *De Occultiore Philosophia*.

* Here the second part of the speech, the Statement, ends.

In Athens, where books and wits were ever busier than in any other part of Greece, I find but only two sorts of writings which the magistrate cared to take notice of; those either blasphemous and atheistical, or libellous. Thus the books of Protagoras were by the judges of Areopagus commanded to be burnt, and himself banished the territory for a discourse begun with his confessing not to know "whether there were gods, or whether not."* And against defaming, it was agreed that none should be traduced by name, as was the manner of Vetus Comœdia,† whereby we may guess how they censured libelling: And this course was quick enough, as Cicero writes,‡ to quell both the

with a smooth transition to the third and main part, the Proof, which is to be arranged in sections as already set forth in the Statement: I. That the inventors of licensing were the Popes and the Inquisition; II. That there is gain from the free reading of all books; III. That this Order will not suppress scandalous, seditious, and libellous books, against which it was mainly directed; IV. That it will tend to discourage learning and check the advance of truth. Section I. begins with the next paragraph, showing when and how licensing first came in, not as in itself proof that it is bad, but as raising a very strong presumption against it. After this the Proof lies in sections II., III., IV.

* *Protagoras* in the year 411 B.C. was so accused by Pythodoros for such a sentence in a book upon the gods.

† *Vetus Comœdia.* The old Comedy of Greece.

‡ In his treatise on "The Nature of the Gods," i. 23, where also he wrote what Milton here repeats about Protagoras.

desperate wits of other atheists, and the open way of defaming, as the event showed. Of other sects and opinions, though tending to voluptuousness, and the denying of Divine Providence, they took no heed. Therefore we do not read that either Epicurus, or that libertine school of Cyrene,* or what the Cynic impudence† uttered, was ever questioned by the laws. Neither is it recorded that the writings of those old comedians were suppressed, though the acting of them were forbid; and that Plato commended the reading of Aristophanes, the loosest of them all, to his royal scholar Dionysius, is commonly known, and may be excused, if holy Chrysostom,‡ as is reported, nightly studied so much the same author and had the art to cleanse a scurrilous vehemence into the style of a rousing sermon. That other leading city of Greece, Lacedæmon, considering that

* *That libertine school of Cyrene,* founded by Aristippus, who —departing from the lessons of his master, Socrates—made pleasure the aim of life.

† *The Cynic impudence* of the school founded by another pupil of Socrates, Antisthenes, after the death of his master. Diogenes of Sinope was the most famous disciple of this school.

‡ John, who was called Chrysostom, or Goldenmouth (who was born at Antioch about A.D. 347, made Patriarch of Constantinople A.D. 397, and died in exile A.D. 407), was the most eloquent of the Fathers.

Lycurgus their lawgiver was so addicted to elegant learning, as to have been the first that brought out of Ionia the scattered works of Homer, and sent the poet Thales * from Crete to prepare and mollify the Spartan surliness with his smooth songs and odes, the better to plant among them law and civility, it is to be wondered how museless and unbookish they were, minding nought but the feats of war. There needed no licensing of books among them, for they disliked all but their own laconic † apothegms, and took a slight occasion to chase Archilochus ‡ out of their city, perhaps for composing in a higher strain than their own soldierly ballads and roundels could reach to: Or if it were for his broad verses, they were not therein so cautious, but they were as dissolute in their promiscuous conversing; whence Euripides affirms in *Andromache*,§ that their women were all unchaste.

* *The poet Thales*, or Thaletas, of whom Milton takes his account from Plutarch's "Life of Lycurgus."

† *Laconic*. The Spartans had a repute for brevity of speech, the Cretans a repute for babbling. This brevity was called laconic from their country Laconia, of which Sparta or Lacedæmon was the capital.

‡ *Archilochus* of Thasos died 676 B.C. He is said to have introduced Iambic verse and given to his themes the bitterness that made "to iambise" a phrase for the writing of censorious lines. Horace said that in his "Epodes" he imitated Archilochus.

§ *Andromache* from line 490.

Thus much may give us light after * what sort
books were prohibited among the Greeks. T
Romans also for many ages trained up only t
military roughness, resembling most the La
dæmonian guise, knew of learning little but wi
their twelve Tables, and the Pontific College w
their augurs and flamins taught them in relig
and law, so unacquainted with other learning, t
when Carneades and Critolaus, with the St
Diogenes coming ambassadors to Rome,† to
thereby occasion to give the city a taste of th
philosophy, they were suspected for seducers by
less a man than Cato the Censor, who moved it
the Senate to dismiss them speedily, and to ban
all such Attic babblers out of Italy. But Scip
and others of the noblest senators withstood h
and his old Sabine austerity; honoured and admi
the men; and the censor himself at last, in his
age fell to the study of that whereof before he w
so scrupulous. And yet at the same time, Nævi

* *Light after.* Light upon the track of, light in following
search after.

† *Ambassadors to Rome,* B.C. 155. Carneades of Cyrene g
at Rome during his embassy two lectures on Justice, in
second of which he refuted the arguments of the first. T
was Cato's ground of offence. He insisted that the Sen
should dismiss a man who played with truth, making rig
wrong or right at pleasure.

and Plautus, the first Latin comedians, had filled the city with all the borrowed scenes of Menander and Philemon. Then began to be considered there also what was to be done to libellous books and authors; for Nævius* was quickly cast into prison for his unbridled pen, and released by the tribunes upon his recantation; we read also that libels were burnt, and the makers punished by Augustus. The like severity, no doubt, was used, if aught were impiously written against their esteemed gods. Except in these two points, how the world went in books, the magistrate kept no reckoning. And therefore Lucretius without impeachment versifies his Epicurism to Memmius, and had the honour to be set forth the second time by Cicero so great a father of the commonwealth; although himself disputes against that opinion in his own writings. Nor was the satirical sharpness or naked plainness of Lucilius, or Catullus, or Flaccus, by any order prohibited. And for matters of state,

* *Cneius Nævius*, a Latin versifier, who wrote comedies and tragedies, and of whom fragments are in the "Corpus Poetarum Latinorum," served as a soldier in the first Punic war. He got into trouble, as Milton says, for his oversharpness of satire, and at last died in poverty at Utica. His chief trouble in Rome had arisen from conflict with the strong house of the Metelli, which he satirised unmercifully, and whose frequent holding of civic dignities he ascribed to a blind fate.

the story of Titus Livius, though it extolled that part which Pompey held, was not therefore suppressed by Octavius Cæsar of the other faction. But that Naso was by him banished in his old age, for the wanton poems of his youth, was but a mere covert of state over some secret cause: and besides, the books were neither banished nor called in. From hence* we shall meet with little else but tyranny in the Roman empire, that we may not marvel, if not so often bad as good books were silenced. I shall therefore deem to have been large enough, in producing what among the ancients was punishable to write, save only which, all other arguments were free to treat on.

By this time the emperors were become Christians, whose discipline in this point I do not find to have been more severe than what was formerly in practice. The books of those whom they took to be grand heretics were examined, refuted, and condemned in the general Councils; and not till then were prohibited, or burnt, by authority of the emperor. As for the writings of heathen authors, unless they were plain invectives against Christianity, as those of Porphyrius and Proclus, they met with no interdict that can be cited, till

* *From hence.* From the reign of Augustus.

about the year 400, in a Carthaginian Council, wherein bishops themselves were forbid to read the books of Gentiles, but heresies they might read: while others long before them, on the contrary, scrupled more the books of heretics than of Gentiles. And that the primitive Councils and Bishops were wont only to declare what books were not commendable, passing no further, but leaving it to each one's conscience to read or to lay by, till after the year 800, is observed already by Padre Paolo * the great unmasker of the Trentine Council. After which time the Popes of Rome, engrossing what they pleased of political rule into their own hands, extended their dominion over men's eyes,

* *Padre Paolo.* Pietro Paolo Sarpi, commonly called Fra Paolo, or Paul of Venice, had received in his youth a most liberal education, and earned a reputation among the learned throughout Italy. At the age of twenty-seven he became Provincial of his religious Order, that of the Servites, and in the questions between Pope Paul V. and the Republic of Venice, Fra Paolo was counsellor and theologian for the Venetians, so warmly defending their civil independence of Papal control that in 1606 he was excommunicated. He died in 1623, aged 71. Among his numerous works the most important was the "History of the Council of Trent," published in London, in Italian, in 1619, and in Latin in 1620. Its opinions were such as could not be published in Italy, for the author's learning was not greater than his love of intellectual liberty. The first and last meetings of the Council of Trent were on December 13th, 1545, and December 4th, 1563.

as they had before over their judgments, burning and prohibiting to be read what they fancied not; yet sparing in their censures, and the books not many which they so dealt with: till Martin V., by his bull, not only prohibited, but was the first that excommunicated the reading of heretical books; for about that time Wickliffe and Huss growing terrible, were they who first drove the Papal Court to a stricter policy of prohibiting. Which course Leo X. and his successors followed, until the Council of Trent and the Spanish Inquisition engendering together brought forth, or perfected those Catalogues, and expurging indexes, that rake through the entrails of many an old good author, with a violation worse than any could be offered to his tomb. Nor did they stay in matters heretical, but any subject that was not to their palate, they either condemned in a Prohibition, or had it straight into the new Purgatory of an Index.* To fill up the

* *Condemned in a Prohibition . . . new Purgatory of an Index.* Prohibition: the Index Librorum Prohibitorum. Purgatory: the Index Expurgatorius, containing the books which were not utterly condemned, but sent for the purgation of offending matter by obliteration of certain pages or lines. Censorship of the press began with the Church soon after the invention of printing. Ecclesiastical superintendence, introduced in 1479 and 1496, was more completely established by the Bull of Leo X. in 1515. Bishops and inquisitors were required by that Bull

measure of encroachment, their last invention was to ordain that no book, pamphlet, or paper should be printed (as if St. Peter had bequeathed them the keys of the press also out of Paradise) unless it were approved and licensed under the hands of two or three glutton friars. For example: *

> Let the Chancellor Cini be pleased to see if in this present work be contained aught that may withstand the printing.
>
> Vincent Rabbatta, Vicar of Florence.

I have seen this present work, and find nothing

to examine all books before they were printed, and suppress heretical opinions. The Index of Prohibited Books was begun by the Council of Trent in 1546. It contained all books which might not be read by any member of the Church without a special licence from his Bishop. Other books, which required only expurgations, were put in the Expurgatory Index, and might be read only after the offending passages had been blotted out by the authorities. These lists still appear under the superintendence of a special congregation of cardinals, called the Congregation of the Index.

* Milton here looked among his books for one printed in Italy, which would well illustrate his meaning, and took down a book on the Schism of the English Church, "Scisma d'Inghilterra," &c., by Bernardo Davanzati Bostischi, which had been published at Florence in 1638, when Milton was in Italy, and, no doubt, considering its subject, was among the many books then bought by him. In the original book the date of Vincent Rabbatta's first duck towards Chancellor Cini is June 12, 1626; the date of Nicolo Cini's duck in reply is July 2, 1636.

athwart the Catholic faith and good manners: in witness whereof I have given, &c.

Nicolo Cini, Chancellor of Florence.

Attending the precedent relation, it is allowed that this present work of Davanzati may be printed. Vincent Rabbatta, &c.

It may be printed, July 15.

Friar Simon Mompei d'Amelia, Chancellor of the holy office in Florence.

Sure they have a conceit, if he of the bottomless pit had not long since broke prison, that this quadruple exorcism would bar him down. I fear their next design will be to get into their custody the licensing of that* which they say Claudius intended, but went not through with. Vouchsafe to see another of their forms, the Roman stamp:

Imprimatur, If it seem good to the reverend master of the holy Palace,

Belcastro, Vicegerent.

Imprimatur, Friar Nicolo Rodolphi, Master of the holy Palace.

Sometimes five Imprimaturs are seen together dialogue wise in the piazza of one title-page,

* Breaking wind in company.

complimenting and ducking each to other with their shaven reverences, whether the author who stands by in perplexity at the foot of his epistle, shall to the press or to the sponge. These are the pretty responsories, these are the dear antiphonies, that so bewitched of late our Prelates and their chaplains with the goodly echo they made; and besotted us to the gay imitation of a lordly Imprimatur, one from Lambeth House, another from the west end of Paul's; * so apishly romanising, that the word of command still was set down in Latin; as if the learned grammatical pen that wrote it would cast no ink without Latin; or perhaps, as they thought, because no vulgar tongue was worthy to express the pure conceit of an Imprimatur; but rather, as I hope, for that our English, the language of men, ever famous and foremost in the achievements of liberty, will not easily find servile letters enow to spell such a dictatory presumption English.† And

* *From Lambeth House . . . from the west end of Paul's.* When Henry VIII. threw off the jurisdiction of the Pope in England, he took upon himself the settling of the faith of Englishmen, and the machinery for licensing of books was transferred from Rome to London; the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, by themselves or by their chaplains, then became licensers for the English Church.

† *To spell . . . English.* To spell Englishwise. English is used adverbially.

thus ye have the inventors and the original of book-licensing ripped up and drawn as lineally as any pedigree. We have it not, that can be heard of, from any ancient state, or polity, or church, nor by any statute left us by our ancestors elder or later; nor from the modern custom of any reformed city or church abroad; but from the most anti-christian council and the most tyrannous inquisition that ever inquired. Till then books were ever as freely admitted into the world as any other birth; the issue of the brain was no more stifled than the issue of the womb: no envious Juno sat cross-legged over the nativity of any man's intellectual offspring; but if it proved a monster, who denies, but that it was justly burnt, or sunk into the sea. But that a book in worse condition than a peccant soul, should be to stand before a jury ere it be born to the world, and undergo yet in darkness the judgment of Radamanth and his colleagues,* ere it can pass the ferry backward into light, was never heard before, till that mysterious iniquity, provoked and troubled at the first entrance of Reformation, sought out new limbos and new hells

* Rhadamanthus, Æacus, and Minos were the fabled judges of the under world.

wherein they might include our books also* within the number of their damned. And this was the rare morsel so officiously snatched up, and so ill-favouredly imitated by our inquisiturient† bishops, and the attendant minorities their chaplains. That ye like not now these most certain authors of this licensing order, and that all sinister intention was far distant from your thoughts, when ye were importuned the passing it, all men who know the integrity of your actions, and how ye honour Truth, will clear ye readily.

‡ But some will say, What though the inventors

* *New limbos and new hells wherein they might include our books also.* Within Italy, as within the pale of the Christian Church, there was a natural jurisdiction. The sinner born in Christendom had his heaven and hell to choose between. But the Church once puzzled itself with questioning, What became of the patriarchs of old who had not known Christ and therefore could not believe on Him and be saved? What became of Socrates and Plato; what of new-born children who died before baptism? To meet these questions, new and milder hells were invented, and—from "limbus," a border—were called limbos. There was then a limbo for the Fathers, a limbo for infants, &c. So the books of foreigners, which could not be seized or destroyed, were put in one of the two limbos, Prohibitory or Expurgatory, of the Index.

† *Inquisiturient.* The Latin suffix adds the sense of desire or yearning.

‡ Here begins Section II. of the Proof. Section I. had prepared the minds that Milton hoped to influence by setting forth a fact which, although not proof in itself, might be expected to excite among those whom he addressed a predisposition

were bad, the thing for all that may be good? It may be so; yet if that thing be no such deep invention, but obvious, and easy for any man to light on, and yet best and wisest commonwealths through all ages and occasions have forborne to use it, and falsest seducers and oppressors of men were the first who took it up, and to no other purpose but to obstruct and hinder the first approach of Reformation; I am of those who believe, it will be a harder alchymy than Lullius ever knew, to sublimate any good use out of such an invention. Yet this only is what I request to gain from this reason, that it may be held a dangerous and suspicious fruit, as certainly it deserves, for the tree that bore it, until I can dissect one by one the properties it has. But I have first to finish, as was propounded, what is to be thought in general of reading books, whatever sort they be, and whether be more the benefit or the harm that thence proceeds?

Not to insist upon the examples of Moses, Daniel, and Paul, who were skilful in all the learning of the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Greeks, which could not probably be without reading their books of all sorts, in Paul especially, who thought it no defilement

to accept his subsequent arguments. He proceeds now to show that the reading of all books ought to be free.

to insert into Holy Scripture the sentences of three Greek poets, and one of them a tragedian,* the question was notwithstanding sometimes controverted among the primitive doctors, but with great odds on that side which affirmed it both lawful and profitable, as was then evidently perceived, when Julian the Apostate and subtlest enemy to our faith, made a decree forbidding Christians the study of heathen learning: for, said he, they wound us with our own weapons, and with our own arts and sciences they overcome us. And indeed the Christians were put so to their shifts by this crafty means, and so much in danger to decline into all ignorance, that the two Apollinarii † were fain, as a man may say, to coin all the seven liberal sciences out of the Bible, reducing it into divers forms of orations, poems, dialogues, even to the calculating of a new Christian grammar. But, saith the historian Socrates,‡ the providence of God provided

* Acts xvii. 28; 1 Cor. xv. 33 (ascribed to Euripides); Titus i. 12.

† *The two Apollinarii.* Apollinarius the elder and his son Bishop of Alexandria. When Julian excluded Christians from the study of the old Greek literature, these men produced a sacred history in twenty-four books, after the manner of Homer, and Christian imitations of Euripides and other poets.

‡ *The historian Socrates,* named Scholasticus, wrote an Ecclesiastical History in seven books, of events from A.D. 306 to A.D. 439. Julian died A.D. 363.

better than the industry of Apollinarius and his son, by taking away that illiterate law with the life of him who devised it. So great an injury they then held it to be deprived of Hellenic learning; and thought it a persecution more undermining, and secretly decaying the Church, than the open cruelty of Decius or Diocletian. And perhaps it was the same politic drift that the devil whipped St. Jerome in a Lenten dream, for reading Cicero; or else it was a phantasm bred by the fever which had then seized him.* For had an angel been his discipliner, unless it were for dwelling too much upon Ciceronianisms, and had chastised the reading, not the vanity, it had been plainly partial; first to correct him for grave Cicero, and not for scurril Plautus, whom he confesses to have been reading, not long before; next to correct him only, and let so many more ancient fathers wax old in those pleasant and florid studies without the lash of such a tutoring apparition; insomuch that Basil teaches how some good use may be made of Margites, a sportful

* Jerome speaks of his illusion as arising in the middle of Lent, when he was seriously reduced by fever. The story is in a letter to a nun, Eustochium, upon Virginity, written by him A.D. 384. He ascribed the dream to the Devil, though it made him seem to be condemned in heaven to be whipped by angels for being a Ciceronian rather than a Christian.

poem, not now extant, writ by Homer; and why not then of Morgante, an Italian romance much to the same purpose. But if it be agreed we shall be tried by visions, there is a vision recorded by Eusebius,* far ancienter than this tale of Jerome to the nun Eustochium, and, besides, has nothing of a fever in it. Dionysius Alexandrinus was about the year 240, a person of great name in the Church for piety and learning, who had wont to avail himself much against heretics by being conversant in their books; until a certain presbyter laid it scrupulously to his conscience, how he durst venture himself among those defiling volumes. The worthy man, loth to give offence, fell into a new debate with himself what was to be thought; when suddenly a vision sent from God (it is his own epistle that so avers it) confirmed him in these words: Read any books whatever come to thy hands, for

* *Eusebius*, Bishop of Cæsarea, died A.D. 338. He wrote an Ecclesiastical History in ten books, which is the earliest and best of its kind. There was a translation into English of "the Ancient Ecclesiastical Histories of the First Six Hundred Years after Christ, written in the Greek Tongue by three learned Historiographers, Eusebius, Socrates, and Evagrius," published in 1585 by Dr. Meredith Hanmer, which Milton might have possessed. It was a well-read book, and reached its sixth edition in 1663. The seventh book of Eusebius contains many letters of Dionysius, including the one here quoted by Milton.

thou art sufficient both to judge aright, and to examine each matter. To this revelation he assented the sooner, as he confesses, because it was answerable to that of the Apostle to the Thessalonians, Prove all things, hold fast that which is good. And he might have added another remarkable saying of the same author: To the pure, all things are pure; not only meats and drinks, but all kind of knowledge whether of good or evil; the knowledge cannot defile, nor consequently the books, if the will and conscience be not defiled. For books are as meats and viands are; some of good, some of evil substance; and yet God in that unapocryphal vision, said without exception, Rise, Peter, kill and eat, leaving the choice to each man's discretion. Wholesome meats to a vitiated stomach differ little or nothing from unwholesome; and best books to a naughty mind are not unappliable to occasions of evil. Bad meats will scarce breed good nourishment in the healthiest concoction; but herein the difference is of bad books, that they to a discreet and judicious reader serve in many respects to discover, to confute, to forewarn, and to illustrate. Whereof what better witness can ye expect I should produce, than one of your own now sitting in Parliament, the chief of learned men reputed in

this land, Mr. Selden; whose volume of natural and national laws * proves, not only by great authorities brought together, but by exquisite reasons and theorems almost mathematically demonstrative, that all opinions, yea errors, known, read, and collated, are of main service and assistance toward the speedy attainment of what is truest. I conceive, therefore, that when God did enlarge the universal diet of man's body, saving ever the rules of temperance, He then also, as before, left arbitrary the dieting and repasting of our minds; as wherein every mature man might have to exercise his own leading capacity. How great a virtue is temperance, how much of moment through the whole life of man! Yet God commits the managing so great a trust, without particular law or prescription, wholly to the demeanour of every grown man. And therefore when He Himself tabled the Jews from heaven, that omer, which was every man's daily portion of manna, is computed to have been more than might have well sufficed the heartiest feeder thrice as many meals. For those actions which enter into a man, rather than issue out of him, and therefore defile not, God uses not to captivate under

* Selden, "De Jure Naturali et Gentium juxta Disciplinam Ebræorum" (1640).

a perpetual childhood of prescription, but trusts him with the gift of reason to be his own chooser; there were but little work left for preaching, if law and compulsion should grow so fast upon those things which heretofore were governed only by exhortation. Solomon informs us, that much reading is a weariness to the flesh; but neither he nor other inspired author tells us that such, or such reading is unlawful: yet certainly had God thought good to limit us herein, it had been much more expedient to have told us what was unlawful, than what was wearisome. As for the burning of those Ephesian books by St. Paul's converts; 'tis replied the books were magic, the Syriac so renders them. It was a private act, a voluntary act, and leaves us to a voluntary imitation: the men in remorse burnt those books which were their own; the magistrate by this example is not appointed: these men practised the books, another might perhaps have read them in some sort usefully. Good and evil we know in the field of this world grow up together almost inseparably; and the knowledge of good is so involved and interwoven with the knowledge of evil, and in so many cunning resemblances hardly to be discerned, that those confused seeds which were imposed upon Psyche as an incessant labour

to cull out, and sort asunder, were not more intermixed.* It was from out the rind of one apple tasted, that the knowledge of good and evil, as two twins cleaving together, leaped forth into the world. And perhaps this is that doom which Adam fell into of knowing good and evil, that is to say of knowing good by evil. As therefore the state of man now is; what wisdom can there be to choose, what continuance to forbear without the knowledge of evil? He that can apprehend and consider vice

* The reference is to an incident in the beautiful story of Cupid and Psyche—an incidental tale represented in the "Golden Ass" of Apuleius, as told by an old woman in the thieves' den to a gentlewoman whom the thieves had stolen. Venus in the tale, among other persecutions of Psyche for having won her son Cupid, "took her by the hair and dashed her head upon the ground. Then she took a great quantity of wheat, of barley, poppy-seed, peasen, lentiles, and beans, and mingled them all into a heap," bidding her separate and sort them all before her return in the evening. Psyche sat in mute despair over her task, "then the little pismire, the emmet, taking pity of her great difficulty and labour, cursing the cruelness of the daughter of Jupiter, and of so evil a mother, ran about hither and thither, and called to all her friends, 'Ye quick sons of the Ground, the mother of all things, take mercy on this poor maid, espouse to Cupid, who is in great danger of her person, I pray you help her with all diligence.' Incontinently one came after another, dissevering and dividing the grain, and after that they had put each kind of corn in order, they ran away again in all haste." I quote from a translation of "The XI. Bookes of the Golden Asse," by William Adlington, published in 1639, four or five years before Milton wrote his "Areopagitica."

with all her baits and seeming pleasures, and yet abstain, and yet distinguish, and yet prefer that which is truly better, he is the true wayfaring Christian.* I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue, unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race, where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat. Assuredly we bring not innocence into the world, we bring impurity much rather; that which purifies us is trial, and trial is by what is contrary. That virtue therefore which is but a youngling in the contemplation of evil, and knows not the utmost that vice promises to her followers, and rejects it, is but a blank virtue, not a pure; her whiteness is but an excremental whiteness; which was the reason why our sage and serious poet Spenser, whom I dare be known to think a better teacher than Scotus or Aquinas,†

* *Wayfaring Christian.* In the copy of the "Areopagitica" which belonged to a Mr. Thomason, and was inscribed by him as the gift of the author, the "y" in "wayfaring" is struck out with a pen, and "r" written at the side, perhaps by Milton. The book is now in the British Museum.

† *Spenser.* Dryden, at the close of his life, wrote in the Preface to his Fables, "Milton was the poetical son of Spenser, Milton has confessed to me that Spenser is his original." This was Dryden's impression from words of conversation strongly expressing such opinion of Spenser as is here recorded. And Spenser was, in many senses, an Elizabethan Milton.

describing true temperance under the person of Guion, brings him in with his palmer through the cave of Mammon, and the bower of earthly bliss, that he might see and know, and yet abstain. Since therefore the knowledge and survey of vice is in this world so necessary to the constituting of human virtue, and the scanning of error to the confirmation of truth, how can we more safely, and with less danger scout into the regions of sin and falsity than by reading all manner of tractates and hearing all manner of reason? And this is the benefit which may be had of books promiscuously read.

But of the harm that may result hence three kinds are usually reckoned. First, is feared the infection that may spread; but then all human learning and controversy in religious points must remove out of the world, yea the Bible itself; for that ofttimes relates blasphemy not nicely, it describes the carnal sense of wicked men not unelegantly, it brings in holiest men passionately murmuring against Providence through all the arguments of Epicurus: in other great disputes it answers dubiously and darkly to the common reader: and ask a Talmudist what ails the modesty of his marginal Keri, that Moses and all the prophets cannot persuade him to pronounce the

textual Chetiv.* For these causes we all know the Bible itself put by the Papist into the first rank of prohibited books. The ancientest fathers must be next removed, as Clement of Alexandria, and that Eusebian book of Evangelic preparation, transmitting our ears through a hoard of heathenish obscenities to receive the Gospel. Who finds not that Irenæus, Epiphanius, Jerome, and others discover more heresies than they well confute, and that oft for heresy which is the truer opinion? Nor boots it to say for these, and all the heathen writers of greatest infection, if it must be thought so, with whom is bound up the life of human learning, that they writ in an unknown tongue, so long as we are sure those languages are known as well to the worst of men, who are both most able, and most diligent to instil the poison they suck, first into the courts of princes, acquainting them

* *Marginal Keri . . . textual Chetiv.* Keri meant that which is read; Chetiv that which is written. Where various readings occur, the reading to be avoided was written in the text, and the true reading, or keri, in the margin. The corrections, about one thousand in number, have been ascribed to Ezra. Among them were corrections, which Milton had in his mind, made according to a rule of the Talmud, "That all words which in the Law are written obscenely, must be changed to more civil words." For which in another place Milton calls the scholiasts, "Fools who would teach men to read more decently than God thought good to write."

with the choicest delights, and criticisms of sin. As perhaps did that Petronius whom Nero called his Arbiter, the master of his revels; and the notorious ribald of Arezzo,* dreaded and yet dear to the Italian courtiers. I name not him for posterity's sake, whom Henry VIII. named in merriment his Vicar of hell.† By which compendious way all the contagion that foreign books can infuse, will find a passage to the people far easier and shorter than an Indian voyage, though it could be sailed either by the north of Cataio eastward, or of Canada westward, while our Spanish licensing gags the English press never so severely. But on the other side that infection which is from books of

* *Ribald of Arezzo.* Pietro Aretino, born at Arezzo in 1492, who said of his youth, "I had no more learning than was just enough to teach me how to cross myself," fastened upon the best writers of his own country, and became the great satirist of his time in Italy. He died at the age of sixty-five, by falling back upon his head when over-balancing his chair in a fit of laughter.

† *The Vicar of Hell.* If this be a play on the office of John Skelton as Rector of Diss, making Diss stand for Dis, and so represent the god of the under world, Milton misunderstood John Skelton, and therein fell behind Spenser, who took from a poem of Skelton's his poetic name of Colin Clout, and knew him as he was, a bold denouncer of the pride of prelacy, who dared attack, in a strain of humour that came home to the people whose voice it expressed, the worldly pomp of Wolsey, when he risked his life in doing so.

controversy in religion, is more doubtful and dangerous to the learned than to the ignorant; and yet those books must be permitted untouched by the licenser. It will be hard to instance where any ignorant man hath been ever seduced by papistical book in English, unless it were commended and expounded to him by some of that clergy: and indeed all such tractates, whether false or true, are as the prophecy of Isaiah was to the eunuch, not to be understood without a guide. But of our priests and doctors how many have been corrupted by studying the comments of Jesuits and Sorbonists, and how fast they could transfuse that corruption into the people, our experience is both late and sad. It is not forgot, since the acute and distinct Arminius was perverted merely by the perusing of a nameless discourse written at Delft, which at first he took in hand to confute.* Seeing, therefore, that those books, and those in great abundance which are likeliest to taint both life and doctrine, cannot be suppressed without the fall of learning, and of all ability in disputation, and that these books of either sort are most and soonest catching to the learned, from whom to the common people

* Harmensen (Arminius), when pastor in Amsterdam, became a chief opponent of some doctrines of Calvin by reading arguments which he was asked to refute.

whatever is heretical or dissolute may quickly be conveyed, and that evil manners are as perfectly learnt without books a thousand other ways which cannot be stopped, and evil doctrine not with books can propagate, except a teacher guide, which he might also do without writing, and so beyond prohibiting, I am not unable to unfold, how this cautelous enterprise of licensing can be exempted from the number of vain and impossible attempts. And he who were pleasantly disposed, could not well avoid to liken it to the exploit of that gallant man who thought to pound up the crows by shutting his park gate. Besides another inconvenience, if learned men be the first receivers out of books and dispreaders both of vice and error, how shall the licensers themselves be confided in, unless we can confer upon them, or they assume to themselves above all others in the land, the grace of infallibility and uncorruptedness? And again if it be true, that a wise man, like a good refiner, can gather gold out of the drossiest volume, and that a fool will be a fool with the best book, yea or without book; there is no reason that we should deprive a wise man of any advantage to his wisdom, while we seek to restrain from a fool, that which being restrained will be no hindrance to his folly.

For if there should be so much exactness always used to keep that from him which is unfit for his reading, we should in the judgment of Aristotle not only, but of Solomon and of our Saviour, not vouchsafe him good precepts, and by consequence not willingly admit him to good books; as being certain that a wise man will make better use of an idle pamphlet, than a fool will do of sacred Scripture.

* 'Tis next alleged we must not expose ourselves to temptations without necessity, and next to that, not employ our time in vain things. To both these objections one answer will serve, out of the grounds already laid, that to all men such books are not temptations, nor vanities, but useful drugs and materials wherewith to temper and compose effective and strong medicines, which man's life cannot want.† The rest, as children and childish men, who have not the art to qualify and prepare these working minerals, well may be exhorted to forbear, but hindered forcibly they cannot be by all the licensing that Sainted Inquisition could ever yet contrive: which is what I promised to deliver

* Section C of the Proof is here led up to; that this order avails nothing to the suppressing of scandalous, seditious, and libellous books, which were mainly intended to be suppressed.

† *Cannot want.* Cannot be without.

next, That this order of licensing conduces nothing to the end for which it was framed; and hath almost prevented me * by being clear already while thus much hath been explaining. See the ingenuity of Truth, who, when she gets a free and willing hand, opens herself faster than the pace of method and discourse can overtake her. It was the task which I began with, to show that no nation, or well instituted state, if they valued books at all, did ever use this way of licensing; and it might be answered, that this is a piece of prudence lately discovered. To which I return, that as it was a thing slight and obvious to think on, so if it had been difficult to find out, there wanted not among them long since, who suggested such a course; which they not following, leave us a pattern of their judgment that it was not the not knowing, but the not approving, which was the cause of their not using it. Plato, a man of high authority, indeed, but least of all for his commonwealth, in the book of his laws, which no city ever yet received, fed his fancy by making many edicts to his airy burgomasters, which they who otherwise admire him, wish had been rather buried and excused in

* *Prevented me.* "Come in advance of its place in my arrangement."

the genial cups of an Academic night sitting. By which laws he seems to tolerate no kind of learning, but by unalterable decree, consisting most of practical traditions, to the attainment whereof a library of smaller bulk than his own dialogues would be abundant. And there also enacts, that no poet should so much as read to any private man, what he had written, until the judges and law-keepers had seen it, and allowed it: But that Plato meant this law peculiarly to that commonwealth which he had imagined, and to no other, is evident. Why was he not else a lawgiver to himself, but a transgressor, and to be expelled by his own magistrates; both for the wanton epigrams and dialogues which he made, and his perpetual reading of Sophron, Mimus, and Aristophanes, books of grossest infamy, and also for commending the latter of them, though he were the malicious libeller of his chief friends, to be read by the tyrant Dionysius, who had little need of such trash to spend his time on? But that he knew this licensing of poems had reference and dependence to many other provisos there set down in his fancied republic, which in this world could have no place: and so neither he himself, nor any magistrate, or city ever imitated that course, which taken apart from those other collateral injunctions

must needs be vain and fruitless. For if they fell upon one kind of strictness, unless their care were equal to regulate all other things of like aptness to corrupt the mind, that single endeavour they knew would be but a fond labour; to shut and fortify one gate against corruption, and be necessitated to leave others round about wide open. If we think to regulate printing, thereby to rectify manners, we must regulate all recreations and pastimes, all that is delightful to man. No music must be heard, no song be set or sung, but what is grave and Doric. There must be licensing dancers, that no gesture, motion, or deportment be taught our youth but what by their allowance shall be thought honest; for such Plato was provided of; it will ask more than the work of twenty licensers to examine all the lutes, the violins, and the guitars in every house; they must not be suffered to prattle as they do, but must be licensed what they may say. And who shall silence all the airs and madrigals that whisper softness in chambers? The windows also, and the balconies must be thought on, there are shrewd books, with dangerous frontispieces, set to sale; who shall prohibit them, shall twenty licensers? The villages also must have their visitors to inquire what lectures

the bagpipe and the rebeck * reads even to the ballatry, and the gamut of every municipal fiddler, for these are the countryman's Arcadias, and his Monte Mayors.† Next, what more national corruption, for which England hears ill abroad, than household gluttony: who shall be the rectors of our daily rioting? And what shall be done to inhibit the multitudes that frequent those houses where drunkenness is sold and harboured? Our garments also should be referred to the licensing of some more sober workmasters to see them cut into a less wanton garb. Who shall regulate all the mixed conversation of our youth, male and female together, as is the fashion of this country, who shall still appoint what shall be discoursed, what presumed, and no further? Lastly, who shall forbid and separate all idle resort, all evil company? These things will be, and must be; but how they shall be least hurtful, how least enticing, herein consists the grave and governing wisdom of a state. To sequester out of the world

* *Rebeck.* A rustic fiddle, having either two or three strings, which had begun to pass out of use.

† *George de Montemayor* was the chief founder of Spanish pastoral, as Sannazaro, who wrote "Arcadia," was the strong establisher of pastoral in Italy. The influence of both is to be traced in the "Arcadia" of Sir Philip Sidney.

into Atlantic and Utopian * polities, which never can be drawn into use, will not mend our condition; but to ordain wisely as in this world of evil, in the midst whereof God hath placed us unavoidably. Nor is it Plato's licensing of books will do this, which necessarily pulls along with it so many other kinds of licensing, as will make us all both ridiculous and weary, and yet frustrate; but those unwritten, or at least unconstraining laws of virtuous education, religious and civil nurture, which Plato there mentions as the bonds and ligaments of the commonwealth, the pillars and the sustainers of every written statute; these they be which will bear chief sway in such matters as these, when all licensing will be easily eluded. Impunity and remissness, for certain, are the bane of a commonwealth, but here the great art lies, to discern in what the law is to bid restraint and punishment, and in what things persuasion only is to work. If every action which is good, or evil in man at ripe years, were to be under pittance, and prescription, and compulsion, what were virtue but a name, what praise could be then due to well-doing, what gramercy † to be

* *Atlantic*, from Plato's "Atlantis"; and *Utopian*, from More's "Utopia." † *Gramercy*. "Grand merci," great thank. What thank is due to a man for being just? &c.

sober, just, or continent? Many there be that complain of Divine Providence for suffering Adam to transgress; foolish tongues! when God gave him reason, he gave him freedom to choose, for reason is but choosing;* he had been else a mere artificial Adam, such an Adam as he is in the motions.† We ourselves esteem not of that obedience, or love, or gift, which is of force: God therefore left him free, set before him a provoking object, ever almost in his eyes‡ herein consisted his merit, herein the right of his reward, the praise of his abstinence. Wherefore did he create passions within us, pleasures round about us, but that these rightly tempered are the very ingredients of virtue? They are not skilful considerers of human things, who imagine to remove sin by removing the matter of sin; for, besides that it is a huge heap increasing under the very act of diminishing, though some part of it may for a time be withdrawn from some persons, it cannot from

* Compare "Paradise Lost," Book iii., lines 102—110.

† *Motions.* Puppet shows, which usually represented Bible history.

‡ There is no stop here in the original. The text has been throughout read with Milton's first edition, the spelling modernised, but the punctuation left, to avoid risk of altering the rhythm of Milton's prose. The merit is in abstinence with the enticing object almost ever present to the eyes.

all, in such a universal thing as books are; and when this is done, yet the sin remains entire. Though ye take from a covetous man all his treasure, he has yet one jewel left, ye cannot bereave him of his covetousness. Banish all objects of lust, shut up all youth into the severest discipline that can be exercised in any hermitage, ye cannot make them chaste, that came not thither so: such great care and wisdom is required to the right managing of this point. Suppose we could expel sin by this means; look how much we thus expel of sin, so much we expel of virtue: for the matter of them both is the same; remove that, and ye remove them both alike. This justifies the high providence of God, who, though He commands us temperance, justice, continence, yet pours out before us, even to a profuseness all desirable things, and gives us minds that can wander beyond all limit and satiety. Why should we then affect a rigour contrary to the manner of God and of nature, by abridging or scanting those means, which books freely permitted are, both to the trial of virtue, and the exercise of truth? It would be better done, to learn that the law must needs be frivolous, which goes to restrain things, uncertainly and yet equally

working to good, and to evil. And were I the chooser, a dram of well doing should be preferred before many times as much the forcible hindrance of evil doing. For God sure esteems the growth and completing of one virtuous person, more than the restraint of ten vicious. And albeit whatever thing we hear or see, sitting, walking, travelling, or conversing, may be fitly called our book, and is of the same effect that writings are, yet grant the thing to be prohibited were only books, it appears that this order hitherto is far insufficient to the end which it intends. Do we not see, not once or oftener, but weekly that continued court-libel * against the Parliament and City, printed, as the wet sheets can witness, and dispersed among us, for all that licensing can do? yet this is the prime service a man would think, wherein this Order should give proof of itself. If it were executed, you'll say. But certain, if execution be remiss or blindfold now, and in this particular, what will it be hereafter and in other books? If then the Order shall not be vain and frustrate, behold a new labour, Lords and Commons, ye must repeal and proscribe all scandalous and

* *Court-libel. Mercurius Aulicus*, which appeared once a week from 1642 to 1645.

unlicensed books already printed and divulged; after ye have drawn them up into a list, that all may know which are condemned, and which not; and ordain that no foreign books be delivered out of custody, till they have been read over. This office will require the whole time of not a few overseers, and those no vulgar men. There be also books which are partly useful and excellent, partly culpable and pernicious; this work will ask as many more officials, to make expurgations, and expunctions, that the Commonwealth of Learning be not damnified. In fine, when the multitude of books increase upon their hands, ye must be fain to catalogue all those printers who are found frequently offending, and forbid the importation of their whole suspected typography. In a word, that this your Order may be exact, and not deficient, ye must reform it perfectly according to the model of Trent and Seville, which I know ye abhor to do. Yet though ye should condescend to this, which God forbid, the Order still would be but fruitless and defective to that end whereto ye meant it. If to prevent sects and schisms, who is so unread or so uncatechised in story, that hath not heard of many sects refusing books as a hindrance, and preserving their

doctrine unmixed for many ages, only by unwritten traditions? The Christian faith, for that was once a schism, is not unknown to have spread all over Asia, ere any Gospel or Epistle was seen in writing. If the amendment of manners be aimed at, look into Italy and Spain, whether those places be one scruple the better, the honester, the wiser, the chaster, since all the inquisitional rigour that hath been executed upon books.

Another reason, whereby to make it plain that this Order will miss the end it seeks, consider by the quality which ought to be in every licenser. It cannot be denied but that he who is made judge to sit upon the birth, or death of books whether they may be wafted into this world, or not; had need to be a man above the common measure, both studious, learned, and judicious; there may be else no mean mistakes in the censure of what is passable or not; which is also no mean injury. If he be of such worth as behoves him, there cannot be a more tedious and unpleasing journey-work, a greater loss of time levied upon his head, than to be made the perpetual reader of unchosen books and pamphlets, ofttimes huge volumes. There is no book that is acceptable unless at certain seasons; but to be enjoined the reading of

that at all times, and in a hand scarce legible, whereof three pages would not down at any time in the fairest print, is an imposition which I cannot believe how he that values time, and his own studies, or is but of a sensible nostril, should be able to endure. In this one thing I crave leave of the present licensers to be pardoned for so thinking; who doubtless took this office up, looking on it through their obedience to the Parliament, whose command perhaps made all things seem easy and unlaborious to them; but that this short trial hath wearied them out already, their own expressions and excuses to them who make so many journeys to solicit their license, are testimony enough. Seeing therefore those who now possess the employment, by all evident signs wish themselves well rid of it, and that no man of worth, none that is not a plain unthrift of his own hours is ever likely to succeed them, except he mean to put himself to the salary of a press corrector, we may easily foresee what kind of licensers we are to expect hereafter, either ignorant, imperious, and remiss, or basely pecuniary. This is what I had to show, wherein this Order cannot conduce to that end, whereof it bears the intention.

* I lastly proceed from the no good it can do, to the manifest hurt it causes, in being first the greatest discouragement and affront, that can be offered to learning, and to learned men.

It was the complaint and lamentation of prelates, upon every least breath of a motion to remove pluralities, and distribute more equally Church revenues, that then all learning would be for ever dashed and discouraged. But as for that opinion, I never found cause to think that the tenth part of learning stood or fell with the clergy: nor could I ever but hold it for a sordid and unworthy speech of any churchman who had a competency left him. If therefore ye be loth to dishearten heartily and discontent, not the mercenary crew of false pretenders to learning, but the free and ingenuous sort of such as evidently were born to study, and love learning for itself, not for lucre, or any other end, but the service of God and of truth, and perhaps that lasting fame and perpetuity of praise which God and good men have consented shall be the reward of those whose published labours advance the good of mankind, then know, that so far to distrust the judgment and the honesty of one who hath but a common

* Section D of the Proof.

repute in learning, and never yet offended, as not to count him fit to print his mind, without a tutor and examiner, lest he should drop a schism, or something of corruption, is the greatest displeasure and indignity to a free and knowing spirit that can be put upon him. What advantage is it to be a man over it is to be a boy at school, if we have only escaped the ferula to come under the fescue* of an Imprimatur? if serious and elaborate writings, as if they were no more than the theme of a grammar-lad under his pedagogue must not be uttered without the cursory eyes of a temporising and extemporising licenser? He who is not trusted with his own actions, his drift not being known to be evil, and standing to the hazard of law and penalty, has no great argument to think himself reputed in the Commonwealth wherein he was born, for other than a fool or a foreigner. When a man writes to the world, he summons up all his reason and deliberation to assist him; he searches, meditates, is industrious, and likely consults and confers with his judicious

* *Ferula—fescue.* Ferula, from "ferire," to strike, was a stick with a flattened end for striking boys on the palm of the hand. Fescu was a stick used for pointing, which was also convenient for beating

friends; after all which done he takes himself to be informed in what he writes, as well as any that writ before him; if in this the most consummate act of his fidelity and ripeness, no years, no industry, no former proof of his abilities can bring him to that state of maturity, as not to be still mistrusted and suspected, unless he carry all his considerate diligence, all his midnight watchings, and expense of Palladian oil, to the hasty view of an unleisured licenser, perhaps much his younger, perhaps far his inferior in judgment, perhaps one who never knew the labour of book-writing, and if he be not repulsed, or slighted, must appear in print like a puny* with his guardian, and his censor's hand on the back of his title to be his bail and surety, that he is no idiot, or seducer, it cannot be but a dishonour and derogation to the author, to the book, to the privilege and dignity of Learning. And what if the author shall be one so copious of fancy, as to have many things well worth the adding, come into his mind after licensing, while the book is yet under the press, which not seldom happens to the best and diligentest writers; and that perhaps

* *A puny.* "Puis-né," after-born. A young son in a family.

a dozen times in one book. The printer dares not go beyond his licensed copy; so often then must the author trudge to his leave-giver, that those his new insertions may be viewed; and many a jaunt will be made, ere that licenser, for it must be the same man, can either be found, or found at leisure; meanwhile either the press must stand still, which is no small damage, or the author lose his accuratest thoughts, and send the book forth worse than he had made it, which to a diligent writer is the greatest melancholy and vexation that can befall. And how can a man teach with authority, which is the life of teaching, how can he be a doctor in his book as he ought to be, or else had better be silent, whenas all he teaches, all he delivers, is but under the tuition, under the correction of his patriarchal licenser to blot or alter what precisely accords not with the hide-bound humour which he calls his judgment? When every acute reader upon the first sight of a pedantic licence, will be ready with these like words to ding the book a quoit's distance from him, I hate a pupil teacher, I endure not an instructor that comes to me under the wardship of an overseeing fist. I know nothing of the licenser, but that I have his own hand here for his arrogance; who

shall warrant me his judgment? The State, sir, replies the stationer, but has a quick return, The State shall be my governors, but not my critics; they may be mistaken in the choice of a licenser, as easily as this licenser may be mistaken in an author; this is some common stuff; and he might add from Sir Francis Bacon, That such authorized books are but the language of the times.* For though a licenser should happen to be judicious more than ordinary, which will be a great jeopardy of the next succession, yet his very office, and his commission enjoins him to let pass nothing but what is vulgarly received already. Nay, which is more lamentable, if the work of any deceased author, though never so famous in his lifetime, and even to this day, come to their hands for licence to be printed, or reprinted, if there be found in his book one sentence of a venturous edge, uttered in the height of zeal and who knows whether it might not be the dictate of a divine spirit, yet not suiting with every low decrepit humour of their own, though

* The quotation is from Bacon's paper touching controversies in the Church, first published in 1640. It is in the volume of the "Library of English Literature" illustrating "English Religion," pages 184 to 190.

it were Knox himself, the Reformer of a Kingdom, that spake it, they will not pardon him their dash: the sense of that great man shall to all posterity be lost, for the fearfulness, or the presumptuous rashness of a perfunctory licenser. And to what an author this violence hath been lately done, and in what book of greatest consequence to be faithfully published, I could now instance, but shall forbear till a more convenient season. Yet if these things be not resented seriously and timely by them who have the remedy in their power, but that such iron-moulds as these shall have authority to gnaw out the choicest periods of exquisitest books, and to commit such a treacherous fraud against the orphan remainders of worthiest men after death, the more sorrow will belong to that hapless race of men, whose misfortune it is to have understanding. Henceforth let no man care to learn, or care to be more than worldly wise; for certainly in higher matters to be ignorant and slothful, to be a common steadfast dunce will be the only pleasant life, and only in request.

And as it is a particular disesteem of every knowing person alive, and most injurious to the written labours and monuments of the dead, so to me it seems an undervaluing and vilifying of the

whole Nation. I cannot set so light by all the invention, the art, the wit, the grave and solid judgment which is in England, as that it can be comprehended in any twenty capacities how good soever, much less that it should not pass except their superintendence be over it, except it be sifted and strained with their strainers, that it should be uncurrent without their manual stamp. Truth and understanding are not such wares as to be monopolised and traded in by tickets and statutes, and standards. We must not think to make a staple commodity of all the knowledge in the land, to mark and license it like our broadcloth, and our woolpacks. What is it but a servitude like that imposed by the Philistines, not to be allowed the sharpening of our own axes and coulters, but we must repair from all quarters to twenty licensing forges. Had any one written and divulged erroneous things and scandalous to honest life, misusing and forfeiting the esteem had of his reason among men, if after conviction this only censure were adjudged him, that he should never henceforth write, but what were first examined by an appointed officer, whose hand should be annexed to pass his credit for him, that now he might be safely read; it could not be apprehended less than

a disgraceful punishment. Whence to include the whole Nation, and those that never yet thus offended, under such a diffident and suspectful prohibition, may plainly be understood what a disparagement it is. So much the more, whenas debtors and delinquents may walk abroad without a keeper, but unoffensive books must not stir forth without a visible jailor in their title. Nor is it to the common people less than a reproach; for if we be so jealous over them, as that we dare not trust them with an English pamphlet, what do we but censure them for a giddy, vicious, and ungrounded people; in such a sick and weak state of faith and discretion, as to be able to take nothing down but through the pipe of a licenser. That this is care or love of them, we cannot pretend, whenas in those popish places where the laity are most hated and despised the same strictness is used over them. Wisdom we cannot call it, because it stops but one breach of licence, nor that neither: whenas those corruptions which it seeks to prevent, break in faster at other doors which cannot be shut.

And in conclusion it reflects to the disrepute of our Ministers also, of whose labours we should hope better, and of the proficiency which their flock reaps by them, than that after all this light of the Gospel

which is, and is to be, and all this continual preaching, they should still be frequented with such an unprincipled, unedified, and laic rabble, as that the whiff of every new pamphlet should stagger them out of their catechism, and Christian walking. This may have much reason to discourage the Ministers when such a low conceit is had of all their exhortations, and the benefiting of their hearers, as that they are not thought fit to be turned loose to three sheets of paper without a licenser, that all the sermons, all the lectures preached, printed, vented in such numbers, and such volumes, as have now well-nigh made all other books unsaleable, should not be armour enough against one single Enchiridion,* without the castle of St. Angelo of an Imprimatur.

And lest some should persuade ye, Lords and Commons, that these arguments of learned men's discouragement at this your Order are mere flourishes, and not real, I could recount what I have seen and heard in other countries, where this kind of inquisition tyrannises; when I have sat among their learned men, for that honour I had, and been counted happy to be born in such a place of philosophic freedom, as they supposed England

* *Enchiridion.* That which is held in the hand, a handbook; also a dagger.

was, while themselves did nothing but bemoan the servile condition into which learning amongst them was brought; that this was it which had damped the glory of Italian wits; that nothing had been there written now these many years but flattery and fustian. There it was that I found and visited the famous Galileo* grown old, a prisoner to the Inquisition, for thinking in astronomy otherwise than the Franciscan and Dominican licensers thought. And though I knew that England then was groaning loudest under the prelatical yoke, nevertheless I took it as a pledge of future happiness, that other nations were so persuaded of her liberty. Yet was it beyond my hope that those Worthies were then breathing in her air, who should be her leaders to such a deliverance, as shall never be forgotten by any revolution of time that this world hath to finish. When that was once begun, it was as little in my fear, that what words of complaint I heard among learned men of other parts uttered against the Inquisition, the same I should hear by as learned men at home uttered in time of Parliament against an order of licensing; and that so generally, that when I had disclosed myself a

* *Galileo*, who died in 1642, offended the Church by believing that the earth moved round the sun.

companion of their discontent, I might say, if without envy, that he whom an honest quæstorship had endeared to the Sicilians, was not more by them importuned against Verres, than the favourable opinion which I had among many who honour ye, and are known and respected by ye, loaded me with entreaties and persuasions, that I would not despair to lay together that which just reason should bring into my mind, toward the removal of an undeserved thraldom upon learning. That this is not therefore the disburdening of a particular fancy, but the common grievance of all those who had prepared their minds and studies above the vulgar pitch to advance truth in others, and from others to entertain it, thus much may satisfy. And in their name I shall for neither friend nor foe conceal what the general murmur is; that if it come to inquisitioning again and licensing, and that we are so timorous of ourselves, and so suspicious of all men, as to fear each book, and the shaking of every leaf, before we know what the contents are, if some who but of late were little better than silenced from preaching, shall come now to silence us from reading, except what they please, it cannot be guessed what is intended by some but a second tyranny over learning: and will soon put it out of

controversy, that Bishops and Presbyters are the same to us both name and thing. That those evils of Prelaty which before from five or six and twenty sees were distributively charged upon the whole people, will now light wholly upon learning, is not obscure to us: whenas now the Pastor of a small unlearned Parish, on the sudden shall be exalted Archbishop over a large diocese of books, and yet not remove, but keep his other cure too, a mystical pluralist. He who but of late cried down the sole ordination of every novice Bachelor of Art, and denied sole jurisdiction over the simplest parishioner, shall now at home in his private chair assume both these over worthiest and excellentest books and ablest authors that write them. This is not, ye Covenants and Protestations that we have made! this is not to put down Prelaty; this is but to chop an Episcopacy; this is but to translate the Palace Metropolitan from one kind of dominion into another; this is but an old canonical sleight of commuting our penance. To startle thus betimes at a mere unlicensed pamphlet will after a while be afraid of every conventicle, and a while after will make a conventicle of every Christian meeting. But I am certain that a State governed by the rules of justice and fortitude, or a Church built and founded

upon the rock of faith and true knowledge, cannot be so pusillanimous. While things are yet not constituted in Religion, that freedom of writing should be restrained by a discipline imitated from the Prelates, and learnt by them from the Inquisition to shut us up all again into the breast of a licenser, must needs give cause of doubt and discouragement to all learned and religious men. Who cannot but discern the fineness of this politic drift, and who are the contrivers; that while Bishops were to be baited down, then all Presses might be open; it was the people's birthright and privilege in time of Parliament, it was the breaking forth of light. But now the Bishop sabrogated and voided out the Church, as if our Reformation sought no more, but to make room for others into their seats under another name, the episcopal arts begin to bud again, the cruse of truth must run no more oil, liberty of Printing must be enthralled again under a prelatical commission of twenty, the privilege of the people nullified, and which is worse, the freedom of learning must groan again, and to her old fetters: all this the Parliament yet sitting. Although their own late arguments and defences against the Prelates might remember them, that this obstructing violence meets for the most part

with an event utterly opposite to the end which it drives at: instead of suppressing sects and schisms, it raises them and invests them with a reputation: 'The punishing of wits enhances their authority,' saith the Viscount St. Albans; * 'and a forbidden writing is thought to be a certain spark of truth that flies up in the faces of them who seek to tread it out.' This Order therefore may prove a nursing mother to sects, but I shall easily show how it will be a stepdame to Truth: and first by disenabling us to the maintenance of what is known already.

Well knows he who uses to consider, that our faith and knowledge thrives by exercise, as well as our limbs and complexion. Truth is compared in Scripture to a streaming fountain; if her waters flow not in a perpetual progression, they sicken into a muddy pool of conformity and tradition. A man may be a heretic in the truth; and if he believe things only because his Pastor says so, or the Assembly so determines, without knowing other reason, though his belief be true, yet the very truth he holds, becomes his heresy. There is not any burden that some would gladlier post off

* "Controversies of the Church," written on occasion of the Martin Marprelate controversy in 1589, and published in 1640.

to another, than the charge and care of their Religion. There be, who knows not that there be of Protestants and professors who live and die in as arrant an implicit faith, as any lay Papist of Loretto. A wealthy man addicted to his pleasure and to his profits, finds Religion to be a traffic so entangled, and of so many piddling accounts, that of all mysteries he cannot skill to keep a stock going upon that trade. What should he do? fain he would have the name to be religious, fain he would bear up with his neighbours in that. What does he therefore, but resolves to give over toiling, and to find himself out some factor, to whose care and credit he may commit the whole managing of his religious affairs; some Divine of note and estimation that must be. To him he adheres, resigns the whole warehouse of his religion, with all the locks and keys into his custody; and indeed makes the very person of that man his religion; esteems his associating with him a sufficient evidence and commendatory of his own piety. So that a man may say his religion is now no more within himself, but is become a dividual movable, and goes and comes near him, according as that good man frequents the house. He entertains him, gives him gifts, feasts him, lodges him; his religion

comes home at night, prays, is liberally supped, and sumptuously laid to sleep, rises, is saluted, and after the malmsey, or some well-spiced brewage, and better breakfasted than he whose morning appetite would have gladly fed on green figs between Bethany and Jerusalem, his Religion walks abroad at eight, and leaves his kind entertainer in the shop trading all day without his Religion.

Another sort there be, who when they hear that all things shall be ordered, all things regulated and settled; nothing written but what passes through the custom-house of certain Publicans that have the tonnaging and poundaging of all free-spoken truth, will straight give themselves up into your hands, make 'em and cut 'em out what religion ye please: there be delights, there be recreations and jolly pastimes that will fetch the day about from sun to sun, and rock the tedious year as in a delightful dream. What need they torture their heads with that which others have taken so strictly, and so unalterably into their own purveying? These are the fruits which a dull ease and cessation of our knowledge will bring forth among the people. How goodly, and how to be wished were such an obedient unanimity as this, what a fine conformity would it starch us all into! Doubtless a staunch

and solid piece of framework, as any January could freeze together.

Nor much better will be the consequence even among the clergy themselves: it is no new thing never heard of before, for a parochial Minister, who has his reward, and is at his Hercules pillars* in a warm benefice, to be easily inclinable, if he have nothing else that may rouse up his studies, to finish his circuit in an English Concordance and a topic folio†, the gatherings and savings of a sober graduateship, a Harmony and a Catena‡, treading the constant round of certain common doctrinal heads, attended with the uses, motives, marks, and means, out of which, as out of an alphabet or sol-fa, by forming and transforming, joining and disjoining variously a little bookcraft, and two hours' meditation, might furnish him unspeakably to the performance of more than a weekly charge of sermoning: not to reckon up the infinite helps of interlinaries, breviaries, synopses, and other loitering gear. But as for the multitude of sermons ready printed and piled up, on every text that is not

* *Hercules pillars.* The Straits of Gibraltar were the ancient limit of navigation to the nations bordering the Mediterranean.

† *Topic folio*, commonplace book.

‡ *Catena*, a chain of authorities.

difficult, our London trading St. Thomas in his vestry, and add to boot St. Martin, and St. Hugh, have not within their hallowed limits more vendible ware of all sorts ready made: so that penury he never need fear of pulpit provision, having where so plenteously to refresh his magazine. But if his rear and flanks be not impaled, if his back door be not secured by the rigid licenser, but that a bold book may now and then issue forth, and give the assault to some of his old collections in their trenches, it will concern him then to keep waking, to stand in watch, to set good guards and sentinels about his received opinions, to walk the round and counter-round with his fellow inspectors, fearing lest any of his flock be seduced, who also then would be better instructed, better exercised and disciplined. And God send that the fear of this diligence, which must then be used, do not make us affect the laziness of a licensing Church.

For if we be sure we are in the right, and do not hold the truth guiltily, which becomes not, if we ourselves condemn not our own weak and frivolous teaching, and the people for an untaught and irreligious gadding rout, what can be more fair, than when a man judicious, learned, and of a conscience, for aught we know, as good as theirs

that taught us what we know, shall not privily from house to house, which is more dangerous, but openly by writing publish to the world what his opinion is, what his reasons, and wherefore that which is now thought cannot be sound? Christ urged it as wherewith to justify himself, that he preached in public; yet writing is more public than preaching; and more easy to refutation, if need be, there being so many whose business and profession merely it is, to be the champions of Truth; which if they neglect, what can be imputed but their sloth, or unability?

Thus much we are hindered and disinured by this course of licensing toward the true knowledge of what we seem to know. For how much it hurts and hinders the licensers themselves in the calling of their ministry, more than any secular employment, if they will discharge that office as they ought, so that of necessity they must neglect either the one duty or the other, I insist not, because it is a particular, but leave it to their own conscience, how they will decide it there.

There is yet behind of what I purposed to lay open, the incredible loss and detriment that this plot of licensing puts us to, more than if some

enemy at sea should stop up all our havens, and ports, and creeks, it hinders and retards the importation of our richest Merchandise, Truth: nay, it was first established and put in practice by Antichristian malice and mystery on set purpose to extinguish, if it were possible, the light of Reformation, and to settle falsehood; little differing from that policy wherewith the Turk upholds his Alcoran, by the prohibition of Printing. 'Tis not denied, but gladly confessed, we are to send our thanks and vows to Heaven, louder than most of nations, for that great measure of truth which we enjoy, especially in those main points between us and the Pope, with his appurtenances the Prelates: but he who thinks we are to pitch our tent here, and have attained the utmost prospect of reformation, that the mortal glass wherein we contemplate can show us, till we come to beatific vision that man by this very opinion declares, that he is yet far short of Truth.

Truth indeed came once into the world with her Divine Master, and was a perfect shape most glorious to look on: but when He ascended, and His Apostles after Him were laid asleep, then straight arose a wicked race of deceivers, who, as that story goes of the Egyptian Typhon with his

conspirators, how they dealt with the good Osiris,* took the virgin Truth, hewed her lovely form into a thousand pieces, and scattered them to the four winds. From that time ever since, the sad friends of Truth, such as durst appear, imitating the careful search that Isis made for the mangled body of Osiris, went up and down gathering up limb by limb still as they could find them. We have not yet found them all, Lords and Commons, nor ever shall do, till her Master's second coming; He shall bring together every joint and member, and shall mould them into an immortal feature of loveliness and perfection. Suffer not these licensing prohibitions to stand at every place of opportunity forbidding and disturbing them that continue seeking, that continue to do our obsequies to the torn body of our martyred saint. We boast our light; but if we look not wisely on the Sun itself, it smites us into darkness. Who can discern those planets that are oft combust, and those stars of

* *How they dealt with the good Osiris.* Osiris, the god chiefly worshipped in Egypt, represented fertility: *Osch iri*, "much make," creative in nature. His bride and sister Isis had even higher worship. Their antagonist was Typhon; their son Horus. Typhon cut the body of Osiris in pieces and threw them into the Nile. They were collected after a long search by Isis and Horus.

brightest magnitude that rise and set with the Sun, until the opposite motion of their orbs bring them to such a place in the firmament, where they may be seen evening or morning. The light which we have gained, was given us, not to be ever staring on, but by it to discover onward things more remote from our knowledge. It is not the unfrocking of a priest, the unmitring of a bishop, and the removing him from off the presbyterian shoulders that will make us a happy Nation, no, if other things as great in the Church, and in the rule of life both economical and political be not looked into and reformed, we have looked so long upon the blaze that Zuinglius and Calvin hath beaconed up to us, that we are stark blind. There be who perpetually complain of schisms and sects, and make it such a calamity that any man dissents from their maxims. 'Tis their own pride and ignorance which causes the disturbing, who neither will hear with meekness, nor can convince, yet all must be suppressed which is not found in their Syntagma. They are the troublers, they are the dividers of unity, who neglect and permit not others to unite those dissevered pieces which are yet wanting to the body of Truth. To be still searching what we know not, by what we know,

still closing up truth to truth as we find it (for all her body is homogeneal, and proportional), this is the golden rule in theology as well as in arithmetic, and makes up the best harmony in a Church; not the forced and outward union of cold, and neutral, and inwardly divided minds.

Lords and Commons of England, consider what Nation it is whereof ye are, and whereof ye are the governors: a nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and piercing spirit, acute to invent, subtle and sinewy to discourse, not beneath the reach of any point the highest that human capacity can soar to. Therefore the studies of Learning in her deepest sciences have been so ancient, and so eminent among us, that writers of good antiquity, and ablest judgment have been persuaded that even the school of Pythagoras, and the Persian wisdom took beginning from the old philosophy of this island. And that wise and civil Roman, Julius Agricola, who governed once here for Cæsar, preferred the natural wits of Britain, before the laboured studies of the French. Nor is it for nothing that the grave and frugal Transylvanian sends out yearly from as far as the mountainous borders of Russia, and beyond the Hercynian wilderness, not their youth, but their

staid men, to learn our language, and our theologic arts. Yet that which is above all this, the favour and the love of Heaven we have great argument to think in a peculiar manner propitious and propending towards us. Why else was this Nation chosen before any other, that out of her as out of Sion should be proclaimed and sounded forth the first tidings and trumpet of Reformation to all Europe? And had it not been the obstinate perverseness of our prelates against the divine and admirable spirit of Wickliff, to suppress him as a schismatic and innovator, perhaps neither the Bohemian Huss and Jerome, no nor the name of Luther, or of Calvin had been ever known: the glory of reforming all our neighbours had been completely ours. But now, as our obdurate clergy have with violence demeaned the matter, we are become hitherto the latest and backwardest scholars, of whom God offered to have made us the teachers. Now once again by all concurrence of signs, and by the general instinct of holy and devout men, as they daily and solemnly express their thoughts, God is decreeing to begin some new and great period in His Church, even to the reforming of Reformation itself: what does He then but reveal Himself to His servants, and as

His manner is, first to His Englishmen; I say as His manner is, first to us, though we mark not the method of His counsels, and are unworthy. Behold now this vast City: a city of refuge, the mansion house of liberty, encompassed and surrounded with His protection; the shop of war hath not there more anvils and hammers waking, to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed Justice in defence of beleaguered truth, than there be pens and heads there, sitting by their studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and ideas wherewith to present, as with their homage and their fealty, the approaching Reformation: others as fast reading, trying all things, assenting to the force of reason and convincement. What could a man require more from a Nation so pliant and so prone to seek after knowledge? What wants there to such a towardly and pregnant soil, but wise and faithful labourers, to make a knowing people, a Nation of Prophets, of Sages, and of Worthies? We reckon more than five months yet to harvest; there need not be five weeks, had we but eyes to lift up, the fields are white already. Where there is much desire to learn, there of necessity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions; for opinion in good

men is but knowledge in the making. Under these fantastic terrors of sect and schism, we wrong the earnest and zealous thirst after knowledge and understanding which God hath stirred up in this city. What some lament of, we rather should rejoice at, should rather praise this pious forwardness among men, to reassume the ill-reputed care of their Religion into their own hands again. A little generous prudence, a little forbearance of one another, and some grain of charity might win all these diligences to join, and unite in one general and brotherly search after Truth; could we but forego this prelatical tradition of crowding free consciences and Christian liberties into canons and precepts of men. I doubt not, if some great and worthy stranger should come among us, wise to discern the mould and temper of a people, and how to govern it, observing the high hopes and aims, the diligent alacrity of our extended thoughts and reasonings in the pursuance of truth and freedom, but that he would cry out as Pyrrhus did, admiring the Roman docility and courage, If such were my Epirots, I would not despair the greatest design that could be attempted to make a Church or Kingdom happy. Yet these are the men cried out against for schismatics and

sectaries; as if, while the temple of the Lord was building, some cutting, some squaring the marble, others hewing the cedars, there should be a sort * of irrational men who could not consider there must be many schisms and many dissections made in the quarry and in the timber, ere the house of God can be built. And when every stone is laid artfully together, it cannot be united into a continuity, it can but be contiguous in this world; neither can every piece of the building be of one form; nay rather the perfection consists in this, that out of many moderate varieties and brotherly dissimilitudes that are not vastly disproportional, arises the goodly and the graceful symmetry that commends the whole pile and structure. Let us therefore be more considerate builders, more wise in spiritual architecture, when great reformation is expected. For now the time seems come, wherein Moses the great prophet may sit in heaven rejoicing to see that memorable and glorious wish of his fulfilled, when not only our seventy Elders, but all the Lord's people, are become prophets.† No marvel then though some men, and some good men too, perhaps,

* *Sort*, company.

† *The Lord's people prophets.* Numbers xi. 29.

but young in goodness, as Joshua then was, envy them. They fret, and out of their own weakness are in agony, lest these divisions and subdivisions will undo us. The adversary again applauds, and waits the hour, when they have branched themselves out, saith he, small enough into parties and partitions, then will be our time. Fool! he sees not the firm root, out of which we all grow, though into branches: nor will beware until he see our small divided maniples † cutting through at every angle of his ill-united and unwieldy brigade. And that we are to hope better of all these supposed sects, and schisms, and that we shall not need that solicitude honest perhaps though over-timorous of them that vex in this behalf, but shall laugh in the end, at those malicious applauders of our differences, I have these reasons to persuade me.

First, when a City shall be as it were besieged and blocked about, her navigable river infested, inroads and incursions round, defiance and battle oft rumoured to be marching up even to her walls, and suburb trenches, that then the people, or the greater part, more than at other times, wholly taken up with the study of highest and most important matters to be reformed, should be

† *Maniples.* The Roman maniplus was a small company.

disputing, reasoning, reading, inventing, discoursing, even to a rarity, and admiration, things not before discoursed or written of, argues first a singular goodwill, contentedness and confidence in your prudent foresight, and safe government, Lords and Commons; and from thence derives itself to a gallant bravery and well grounded contempt of their enemies, as if there were no small number of as great spirits among us, as his was, who when Rome was nigh besieged by Hannibal, being in the city, bought that piece of ground at no cheap rate, whereon Hannibal himself encamped his own regiment.* Next it is a lively and cheerful presage of our happy success and victory. For as in a body, when the blood is fresh, the spirits pure and vigorous, not only to vital, but to rational faculties, and those in the acutest, and the pertest operations of wit and subtlety, it argues in what good plight and constitution the body is, so when the cheerfulness of the people is so sprightly up, as that it has, not only wherewith to guard well its own freedom and safety, but to spare, and to bestow upon the solidest and sublimest points of

* This mark of confidence in Rome, when a rich Roman would pay a good price for the very land on which the enemy was camped, is told by Livy, xxvi. 11.

controversy and new invention, it betokens us not degenerated, nor drooping to a fatal decay, but casting off the old and wrinkled skin of corruption to outlive these pangs and wax young again, entering the glorious ways of truth and prosperous virtue destined to become great and honourable in these latter ages. Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks: Methinks I see her as an eagle mewing * her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam; purging and unscaling her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance; while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means, and in their envious gabble would prognosticate a year of sects and schisms.

What should ye do then, should ye suppress all this flowery crop of knowledge and new light sprung up and yet springing daily in this city, should ye set an oligarchy of twenty engrossers over it, to bring a famine upon our minds again,

* *Mewing*, renewing, from French *muer*, Latin *mutare*, applied to birds moulting and renewing plumage. But not to birds only: "Nine times the moon had mewed her horns," wrote Dryden.

when we shall know nothing but what is measured to us by their bushel? Believe it, Lords and Commons, they who counsel ye to such a suppressing, do as good as bid ye suppress yourselves; and I will soon show how. If it be desired to know the immediate cause of all this free writing and free speaking, there cannot be assigned a truer than your own mild, and free, and humane government; it is the liberty, Lords and Commons, which your own valorous and happy counsels have purchased us, liberty which is the nurse of all great wits; this is that which hath rarefied and enlightened our spirits like the influence of heaven; this is that which hath enfranchised, enlarged, and lifted up our apprehensions degrees above themselves. Ye cannot make us now less capable, less knowing, less eagerly pursuing of the truth, unless ye first make yourselves, that made us so, less the lovers, less the founders of our true liberty. We can grow ignorant again, brutish, formal, and slavish, as ye found us; but you then must first become that which ye cannot be, oppressive, arbitrary, and tyrannous, as they were from whom ye have freed us. That our hearts are now more capacious, our thoughts more erected to the search and expectation of greatest and exactest things, is

the issue of your own virtue propagated in us; ye cannot suppress that unless ye reinforce an abrogated and merciless law, that fathers may despatch at will their own children. And who shall then stick closest to ye, and excite others? not he who takes up arms for coat and conduct, and his four nobles of Danegelt. Although I dispraise not the defence of just immunities, yet love my peace better, if that were all. Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties.

* What would be best advised, then, if it be found so hurtful and so unequal to suppress opinions for the newness, or the unsuitableness to a customary acceptance, will not be my task to say; I only shall repeat what I have learned from one of your own honourable number, a right noble and pious lord, who, had he not sacrificed his life and fortunes to the Church and Commonwealth, we had not now missed and bewailed a worthy and undoubted patron of this argument. Ye know him I am sure; yet I for honour's sake, and may it be eternal to him, shall name him the Lord Brook.† He writing of Episcopacy and by

* The Proof is now ended, and the Peroration here begins.

† Robert, son of Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, was shot when

the way treating of sects and schisms, left ye his vote, or rather now the last words of his dying charge, which I know will ever be of dear and honoured regard with ye, so full of meekness and breathing charity, that next to His last testament, who bequeathed love and peace to His disciples, I cannot call to mind where I have read or heard words more mild and peaceful. He there exhorts us to hear with patience and humility those, however they be miscalled, that desire to live purely, in such a use of God's ordinances, as the best guidance of their conscience gives them, and to tolerate them, though in some disconformity to ourselves. The book itself will tell us more at large, being published to the world, and dedicated to the Parliament by him who both

he had marched against the Earl of Chesterfield, in Lichfield, and was preparing an assault on combatants who held Lichfield Cathedral, March 1st, 1643. He had published an earnest volume in 1641 on "The Nature of Truth." In his treatise on Episcopacy he said, "I must confess that I begin to think there may be, perhaps, something more of God in these sects which they call new schisms, than appears at first glimpse." Laud wrote of Lord Robert Brooke in his Diary, "First, I observe that this great and known enemy to Cathedral Churches died thus fearfully, in the assault of a Cathedral; a fearful manner of death in such a quarrel; secondly, that this happened on St. Chad's day, of which saint the Cathedral bears the name." He was killed by a musket-shot out of the House of God.

for his life and for his death deserves, that what advice he left be not laid by without perusal.

And now the time in special is, by privilege to write and speak what may help to the further discussing of matters in agitation. The temple of Janus with his two controversal faces might now not unsignificantly be set open. And though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do injuriously by licensing and prohibiting to misdoubt her strength. Let her and Falsehood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the worse, in a free and open encounter. Her confuting is the best and surest suppressing. He who hears what praying there is for light and clearer knowledge to be sent down among us, would think of other matters to be constituted beyond the discipline of Geneva, framed and fabricked already to our hands. Yet when the new light which we beg for shines in upon us, there be who envy, and oppose, if it come not first in at their casements. What a collusion is this, whenas we are exhorted by the wise man to use diligence, to seek for wisdom as for hidden treasures early and late, that another order shall enjoin us to know nothing but by statute? When a man hath been

labouring the hardest labour in the deep mines of knowledge, hath furnished out his findings in all their equipage, drawn forth his reasons as it were a battle ranged, scattered and defeated all objections in his way, calls out his adversary into the plain, offers him the advantage of wind and sun, if he please; only that he may try the matter by dint of argument, for his opponents then to skulk, to lay ambushments, to keep a narrow bridge of licensing where the challenger should pass, though it be valour enough in soldiership, is but weakness and cowardice in the wars of Truth. For who knows not that Truth is strong, next to the Almighty; she needs no policies, nor stratagems, nor licensings to make her victorious, those are the shifts and the defences that error uses against her power: give her but room, and do not bind her when she sleeps, for then she speaks not true, as the old Proteus did, who spake oracles only when he was caught and bound, but then rather she turns herself into all shapes, except her own, and perhaps tunes her voice according to the time, as Micaiah did before Ahab, until she be adjured into her own likeness. Yet is it not impossible that she may have more shapes than one. What else is all that rank of things indifferent, wherein

Truth may be on this side, or on the other, without being unlike herself? What but a vain shadow else is the abolition of those ordinances, that hand-writing nailed to the cross, what great purchase is this Christian liberty which Paul so often boasts of? His doctrine is, that he who eats or eats not, regards a day, or regards it not, may do either to the Lord. How many other things might be tolerated in peace, and left to conscience, had we but charity, and were it not the chief stronghold of our hypocrisy to be ever judging one another. I fear yet this iron yoke of outward conformity hath left a slavish print upon our necks; the ghost of a linen decency* yet haunts us. We stumble and are impatient at the least dividing of one visible congregation from another though it be not in fundamentals; and through our forwardness to suppress, and our backwardness to recover any enthralled piece of truth out of the gripe of custom, we care not to keep truth separated from truth, which is the fiercest rent and disunion of all. We do not see that while we

* *Ghost of a linen decency.* The formality of the white surplice as a substitute for that decency of worship which lies in essentials. When congregations trouble themselves over surplice and black gown, they are still haunted by the ghost of linen decency.

still affect by all means a rigid external formality, we may as soon fall again into a gross conforming stupidity, a stark and dead congealment of wood, and hay, and stubble forced and frozen together, which is more to the sudden degenerating of a Church than many subdichotomies of petty schisms. Not that I can think well of every light separation, or that all in a Church is to be expected gold and silver and precious stones: it is not possible for man to sever the wheat from the tares, the good fish from the other fry; that must be the Angels' Ministry at the end of mortal things. Yet if all cannot be of one mind, as who looks they should be? this doubtless is more wholesome, more prudent, and more Christian that many be tolerated, rather than all compelled. I mean not tolerated popery, and open superstition, which, as it extirpates all religions and civil supremacies, so itself should be extirpate, provided first that all charitable and compassionate means be used to win and regain the weak and the misled: that also which is impious or evil absolutely either against faith or manners no law can possibly permit, that intends not to unlaw itself: but those neighbouring differences, or rather indifferences, are what I speak of, whether

in some point of doctrine or of discipline, which though they may be many, yet need not interrupt the unity of Spirit, if we could but find among us the bond of peace. In the meanwhile if any one would write, and bring his helpful hand to the slow-moving Reformation which we labour under, if Truth have spoken to him before others, or but seemed at least to speak, who hath so bejesuited us that we should trouble that man with asking license to do so worthy a deed? and not consider this, that if it come to prohibiting, there is not aught more likely to be prohibited than truth itself; whose first appearance to our eyes bleared and dimmed with prejudice and custom, is more unsightly and unplausible than many errors, even as the person is of many a great man slight and contemptible to see to. And what do they tell us vainly of new opinions, when this very opinion of theirs, that none must be heard, but whom they like, is the worst and newest opinion of all others; and is the chief cause why sects and schisms do so much abound, and true knowledge is kept at distance from us; besides yet a greater danger which is in it. For when God shakes a Kingdom with strong and healthful commotions to a general reforming, 'tis not untrue

that many sectaries and false teachers are then busiest in seducing; but yet more true it is, that God then raises to His own work men of rare abilities, and more than common industry, not only to look back and revise what hath been taught heretofore, but to gain further and go on, some new enlightened steps in the discovery of truth. For such is the order of God's enlightening His Church, to dispense and deal out by degrees His beam, so as our earthly eyes may best sustain it. Neither is God appointed and confined, where and out of what place these His chosen shall be first heard to speak; for He sees not as man sees, chooses not as man chooses, lest we should devote ourselves again to set places, and assemblies, and outward callings of men; planting our faith one while in the old Convocation house, and another while in the Chapel at Westminster; when all the faith and religion that shall be there canonised, is not sufficient without plain convincement, and the charity of patient instruction to supple the least bruise of conscience, to edify the meanest Christian, who desires to walk in the Spirit, and not in the letter of human trust, for all the number of voices that can be there made; no, though Harry VII.

himself there, with all his liege tombs about him, should lend them voices from the dead, to swell their number. And if the men be erroneous who appear to be the leading schismatics, what withholds us but our sloth, our self-will, and distrust in the right cause, that we do not give them gentle meetings and gentle dismissions, that we debate not and examine the matter thoroughly with liberal and frequent audience; if not for their sakes, yet for our own? seeing no man who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who not contented with stale receipts are able to manage, and set forth new positions to the world. And were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of Truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away. But if they be of those whom God hath fitted for the special use of these times with eminent and ample gifts, and those perhaps neither among the Priests, nor among the Pharisees, and we in the haste of a precipitant zeal shall make no distinction, but resolve to stop their mouths, because we fear they come with new and dangerous opinions, as we commonly

forejudge them ere we understand them, no less than woe to us, while thinking thus to defend the Gospel, we are found the persecutors.

There have been not a few since the beginning of this Parliament, both of the Presbytery and others, who by their unlicensed books to the contempt of an Imprimatur first broke that triple ice clung about our hearts, and taught the people to see day: I hope that none of those were the persuaders to renew upon us this bondage which they themselves have wrought so much good by contemning. But if neither the check that Moses gave to young Joshua, nor the countermand which our Saviour gave to young John, who was so ready to prohibit those whom he thought unlicensed, be not enough to admonish our Elders how unacceptable to God their testy mood of prohibiting is, if neither their own remembrance what evil hath abourded in the Church by this let* of licensing, and what good they themselves have begun by transgressing it, be not enough, but that they will persuade, and execute the most Dominican part of the Inquisition over us, and are already with one foot in the stirrup so active at suppressing, it would be no unequal

* *Let*, hindrance.

distribution in the first place to suppress the suppressors themselves: whom the change of their condition hath puffed up, more than their late experience of harder times hath made wise.

And as for regulating the Press, let no man think to have the honour of advising ye better than yourselves have done in that Order published next before this, "that no book be Printed, unless the Printer's and the Author's name, or at least the Printer's be registered." Those which otherwise come forth, if they be found mischievous and libellous, the fire and the executioner will be the timeliest and the most effectual remedy, that man's prevention can use. For this authentic Spanish policy of licensing books, if I have said aught, will prove the most unlicensed book itself within a short while; and was the immediate image of a Star Chamber decree to that purpose made in those very times when that Court did the rest of those her pious works, for which she is now fallen from the stars with Lucifer. Whereby ye may guess what kind of state prudence, what love of the people, what care of Religion or good manners there was at the contriving, although with singular hypocrisy it pretended to bind books to their good behaviour. And how it got

the upper hand of your precedent Order so well constituted before, if we may believe those men whose profession gives them cause to inquire most, it may be doubted there was in it the fraud of some old patentees and monopolisers in the trade of bookselling; who under pretence of the poor in their Company not to be defrauded, and the just retaining of each man his several copy, which God forbid should be gainsaid, brought divers glosing colours to the House, which were indeed but colours, and serving to no end except it be to exercise a superiority over their neighbours, men who do not therefore labour in an honest profession to which learning is indebted, that they should be made other men's vassals. Another end is thought was aimed at by some of them in procuring by petition this Order, that having power in their hands, malignant books might the easier scape abroad, as the event shows. But of these sophisms and elenchs of merchandise I skill not: This I know, that errors in a good government and in a bad are equally almost incident; for what Magistrate may not be misinformed, and much the sooner, if liberty of Printing be reduced into the power of a few; but to redress willingly and speedily what hath

been erred, and in highest authority to esteem a plain advertisement more than others have done a sumptuous bribe, is a virtue (honoured Lords and Commons) answerable to your highest actions, and whereof none can participate but greatest and wisest men.

LETTER ON EDUCATION: SONNETS, AND PSALMS

OF EDUCATION.

TO MASTER SAMUEL HARTLIB.

MASTER HARTLIB,

I AM long since persuaded that to say and do aught worth memory and imitation, no purpose or respect should sooner move us than simply the love of God and of mankind. Nevertheless, to write now the reforming of education, though it be one of the greatest and noblest designs that can be thought on, and for the want whereof this nation perishes, I had not yet at this time been induced but by your earnest entreaties and serious conjurements; as having my mind diverted for the present in the pursuance of some other assertions, the knowledge and the use of which cannot but be a great furtherance both to the enlargement of truth and honest living with much more peace. Nor should the laws of any private friendship have prevailed with me to divide thus or transpose my former thoughts; but that I see those aims, those actions which have won you with me the esteem of

a person sent hither by some good providence from a far country to be the occasion and incitement of great good to this island, and as I hear you have obtained the same repute with men of most approved wisdom and some of the highest authority among us, not to mention the learned correspondence which you hold in foreign parts, and the extraordinary pains and diligence which you have used in this matter both here and beyond the seas, either by the definite will of God so ruling, or the peculiar sway of nature, which also is God's working. Neither can I think, that so reputed and so valued as you are, you would, to the forfeit of your own discerning ability, impose upon me an unfit and over-ponderous argument; but that the satisfaction which you profess to have received from those incidental discourses which we have wandered into hath pressed and almost constrained you into a persuasion, that what you require from me in this point I neither ought nor can in conscience defer beyond this time both of so much need at once and so much opportunity to try what God hath determined. I will not resist, therefore, whatever it is either of divine or human obligement that you lay upon me; but will forthwith set down in writing, as you request me, that voluntary idea,

which hath long in silence presented itself to me, of a better education, in extent and comprehension far more large, and yet of time far shorter and of attainment far more certain, than hath been yet in practice. Brief I shall endeavour to be; for that which I have to say assuredly this nation hath extreme need should be done sooner than spoken. To tell you, therefore, that I have benefited herein among old renowned authors I shall spare; and to search what many modern Januas and Didactics more than ever I shall read have projected, my inclination leads me not. But if you can accept of these few observations which have flowered off, and are, as it were, the burnishing of many contemplative years altogether spent in the search of religious and civil knowledge, and such as pleased you so well in the relating, I here give you them to dispose of.

The end, then, of learning is, to repair the ruins of our first parents by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him, to be like him, as we may the nearest by possessing our souls of true virtue, which, being united to the heavenly grace of faith, makes up the highest perfection. But because our understanding cannot in this body found itself but on sensible

things, nor arrive so clearly to the knowledge of God and things invisible as by orderly coming over the visible and inferior creature, the same method is necessarily to be followed in all discreet teaching. And seeing every nation affords not experience and tradition enough for all kind of learning, therefore we are chiefly taught the languages of those people who have at any time been most industrious after wisdom; so that language is but the instrument conveying to us things useful to be known. And though a linguist should pride himself to have all the tongues that Babel cleft the world into, yet if he have not studied the solid things in them as well as the words and lexicons, he were nothing so much to be esteemed a learned man as any yeoman or tradesman competently wise in his mother-dialect only. Hence appear the many mistakes which have made learning generally so unpleasing and so unsuccessful. First, we do amiss to spend seven or eight years merely in scraping together so much miserable Latin and Greek as might be learned otherwise easily and delightfully in one year. And that which casts our proficiency therein so much behind is our time lost in too oft idle vacancies given both to schools and universities; partly in a preposterous exaction, forcing the

empty wits of children to compose themes, verses, and orations, which are the acts of ripest judgment, and the final work of a head filled by long reading and observing with elegant maxims and copious invention. These are not matters to be wrung from poor striplings, like blood out of the nose, or the plucking of untimely fruit; besides the ill habit which they get of wretched barbarising against the Latin and Greek idiom with their untutored Anglicisms, odious to be read, yet not to be avoided without a well-continued and judicious conversing among pure authors, digested, which they scarce taste. Whereas, if after some preparatory grounds of speech by their certain forms got into memory they were led to the praxis hereof in some chosen short book lessoned thoroughly to them, they might then forthwith proceed to learn the substance of good things and arts in due order, which would bring the whole language quickly into their power. This I take to be the most rational and most profitable way of learning languages, and whereby we may best hope to give account to God of our youth spent herein. And for the usual method of teaching arts, I deem it to be an old error of universities, not yet well recovered from the scholastic grossness of barbarous

ages, that instead of beginning with arts most easy (and those be such as are most obvious to the sense), they present their young unmatriculated novices at first coming with the most intellective abstractions of logic and metaphysics; so that they having but newly left those grammatic flats and shallows where they stuck unreasonably to learn a few words with lamentable construction, and now on the sudden transported under another climate, to be tossed and turmoiled with their unballasted wits in fathomless and unquiet deeps of controversy, do, for the most part, grow into hatred and contempt of learning, mocked and deluded all this while with ragged notions and babblements, while they expected worthy and delightful knowledge; till poverty or youthful years call them importunately their several ways, and hasten them, with the sway of friends, either to an ambitious and mercenary, or ignorantly zealous divinity: some allured to the trade of law, grounding their purposes not on the prudent and heavenly contemplation of justice and equity, which was never taught them, but on the promising and pleasing thoughts of litigious terms, fat contentions, and flowing fees: others betake them to state affairs with souls so unprincipled in virtue and true

generous breeding, that flattery, and court-shifts, and tyrannous aphorisms appear to them the highest points of wisdom, instilling their barren hearts with a conscientious slavery, if, as I rather think, it be not feigned: others, lastly, of a more delicious and airy spirit, retire themselves, knowing no better, to the enjoyments of ease and luxury, living out their days in feast and jollity, which, indeed, is the wisest and safest course of all these, unless they were with more integrity undertaken. And these are the errors, and these are the fruits of mis-spending our prime youth at the schools and universities, as we do, either in learning mere words, or such things chiefly as were better unlearnt.

I shall detain you no longer in the demonstration of what we should not do, but straight conduct you to a hillside, where I will point you out the right path of a virtuous and noble education; laborious indeed at the first ascent, but else so smooth, so green, so full of goodly prospect and melodious sounds on every side, that the harp of Orpheus was not more charming. I doubt not but ye shall have more ado to drive our dullest and laziest youth, our stocks and stubs, from the infinite desire of such a happy nurture, than we have now to haul and drag our choicest and hopefullest wits to that asinine

feast of sow-thistles and brambles which is commonly set before them as all the food and entertainment of their tenderest and most docible age. I call, therefore, a complete and generous education, that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war. And how all this may be done between twelve and one-and-twenty, less time than is now bestowed in pure trifling at grammar and sophistry, is to be thus ordered :—

First, to find out a spacious house and ground about it fit for an academy, and big enough to lodge one hundred and fifty persons, whereof twenty or thereabout may be attendants, all under the government of one who shall be thought of desert sufficient, and ability either to do all, or wisely to direct and oversee it done. This place should be at once both school and university, not needing a remove to any other house of scholarship, except it be some peculiar college of law or physic where they mean to be practitioners ; but as for those general studies which take up all our time from Lilly to the commencing, as they term it, master of art, it should be absolute. After this pattern as many edifices may be converted to this use as shall be needful in every city throughout

this land, which would tend much to the increase of learning and civility everywhere. This number, less or more, thus collected, to the convenience of a foot-company or interchangeably two troops of cavalry, should divide their day's work into three parts as it lies orderly—their studies, their exercise, and their diet.

For their studies: first, they should begin with the chief and necessary rules of some good grammar, either that now used, or any better; and while this is doing, their speech is to be fashioned to a distinct and clear pronunciation, as near as may be to the Italian, especially in the vowels. For we Englishmen, being far northerly, do not open our mouths in the cold air wide enough to grace a southern tongue, but are observed by all other nations to speak exceeding close and inward; so that to smatter Latin with an English mouth is as ill a hearing as law French. Next, to make them expert in the usefullest points of grammar, and withal to season them and win them early to the love of virtue and true labour, ere any flattering seducement or vain principle seize them wandering, some easy and delightful book of education should be read to them, whereof the Greeks have store, as Cebes, Plutarch, and other Socratic discourses; but

in Latin we have none of classic authority extant, except the two or three first books of Quintilian and some select pieces elsewhere. But here the main skill and groundwork will be to temper them such lectures and explanations upon every opportunity as may lead and draw them in willing obedience, inflamed with the study of learning and the admiration of virtue, stirred up with high hopes of living to be brave men and worthy patriots, dear to God and famous to all ages: that they may despise and scorn all their childish and ill-taught qualities, to delight in manly and liberal exercises; which he who hath the art and proper eloquence to catch them with, what with mild and effectual persuasions, and what with the intimation of some fear, if need be, but chiefly by his own example, might in a short space gain them to an incredible diligence and courage, infusing into their young breasts such an ingenuous and noble ardour as would not fail to make many of them renowned and matchless men. At the same time, some other hour of the day might be taught them the rules of arithmetic, and, soon after, the elements of geometry, even playing, as the old manner was. After evening repast till bed-time their thoughts would be best taken up in the easy grounds of religion and

the story of Scripture. The next step would be to the authors of agriculture, Cato, Varro, and Columella, for the matter is most easy; and if the language is difficult, so much the better; it is not a difficulty above their years. And here will be an occasion of inciting and enabling them hereafter to improve the tillage of their country, to recover the bad soil, and to remedy the waste that is made of good; for this was one of Hercules' praises. Ere half these authors be read (which will soon be with plying hard and daily) they cannot choose but be masters of an ordinary prose: so that it will be then seasonable for them to learn in any modern author the use of the globes and all the maps, first with the old names and then with the new; or they might then be capable to read any compendious method of natural philosophy; and, at the same time, might be entering into the Greek tongue, after the same manner as was before prescribed for the Latin; whereby the difficulties of grammar being soon overcome, all the historical physiology of Aristotle and Theophrastus are open before them, and, as I may say, under contribution. The like access will be to Vitruvius, to Seneca's "Natural Questions," to Mela, Celsus, Pliny, or Solinus. And having thus past the principles of

arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and geography, with a general compact of physics, they may descend in mathematics to the instrumental science of trigonometry, and from thence to fortification, architecture, enginery, or navigation. And in natural philosophy they may proceed leisurely from the history of meteors, minerals, plants, and living creatures, as far as anatomy. Then also in course might be read to them out of some not tedious writer the institution of physic; that they may know the tempers, the humours, the seasons, and how to manage a crudity, which he who can wisely and timely do is not only a great physician to himself and to his friends, but also may at some time or other save an army by this frugal and expenseless means only, and not let the healthy and stout bodies of young men rot away under him for want of this discipline, which is a great pity, and no less a shame to the commander. To set forward all these proceedings in nature and mathematics, what hinders but that they may procure, as oft as shall be needful, the helpful experiences of hunters, fowlers, fishermen, shepherds, gardeners, apothecaries; and in other sciences, architects, engineers, mariners, anatomists, who, doubtless, would be ready, some for reward and some to favour such a

hopeful seminary. And this would give them such a real tincture of natural knowledge as they shall never forget, but daily augment with delight. Then also those poets which are now counted most hard will be both facile and pleasant, Orpheus, Hesiod, Theocritus, Aratus, Nicander, Oppian, Dionysius; and, in Latin, Lucretius, Manilius, and the rural part of Virgil.

By this time years and good general precepts will have furnished them more distinctly with that act of reason which in ethics is called proairesis, that they may with some judgment contemplate upon moral good and evil. Then will be required a special reinforcement of constant and sound en-doctrinating to set them right and firm, instructing them more amply in the knowledge of virtue and the hatred of vice, while their young and pliant affections are led through all the moral works of Plato, Xenophon, Cicero, Plutarch, Laertius, and those Locrian remnants; but still to be reduced in their nightward studies wherewith they close the day's work under the determinate sentence of David or Solomon, or the evangels and apostolic scriptures. Being perfect in the knowledge of personal duty, they may then begin the study of economics. And either now or before this they may have easily

learned at any odd hour the Italian tongue. An
soon after, but with wariness and good antidote, i
would be wholesome enough to let them taste som
choice comedies, Greek, Latin, or Italian; thos
tragedies also that treat of household matters, a
Trachiniæ, Alcestis, and the like. The next r
move must be to the study of politics; to know th
beginning, end, and reasons of political societie
that they may not, in a dangerous fit of the com
monwealth, be such poor shaken uncertain reed
of such a tottering conscience as many of our grea
councillors have lately shown themselves, bu
steadfast pillars of the State. After this the
are to dive into the grounds of law and legs
justice, delivered first and with best warrant b
Moses, and, as far as human prudence can b
trusted, in those extolled remains of Grecian law
givers, Lycurgus, Solon, Zaleucus, Charondas; an
thence to all the Roman edicts and tables, wit
their Justinian; and so down to the Saxon an
common laws of England and the statutes. Sunday
also and every evening may now be understanc
ingly spent in the highest matters of theology an
church history, ancient and modern: and ere thi
time at a set hour the Hebrew tongue might hav
been gained, that the Scriptures may be now rea

in their own original; whereto it would be no impossibility to add the Chaldee and the Syrian dialect. When all these employments are well conquered, then will the choice histories, heroic poems, and attic tragedies of stateliest and most regal argument, with all the famous political orations, offer themselves; which, if they were not only read, but some of them got by memory, and solemnly pronounced with right accent and grace, as might be taught, would endue them even with the spirit and vigour of Demosthenes or Cicero, Euripides or Sophocles. And now, lastly, will be the time to read with them those organic arts which enable men to discourse and write perspicuously, elegantly, and according to the fitted style of lofty, mean, or lowly. Logic, therefore, so much as is useful, is to be referred to this due place, with all her well-couched heads and topics, until it be time to open her contracted palm into a graceful and ornate rhetoric taught out of the rule of Plato, Aristotle, Phalereus, Cicero, Hermogenes, Longinus. To which poetry would be made subsequent, or, indeed, rather precedent, as being less subtile and fine, but more simple, sensuous, and passionate; I mean not here the prosody of a verse, which they could not but have hit on before among the

rudiments of grammar, but that sublime art which in Aristotle's Poetics, in Horace, and the Italian commentaries of Castlevetro, Tasso, Mazzoni, and others, teaches what the laws are of a true epic poem, what of a dramatic, what of a lyric, what decorum is, which is the grand master-piece to observe. This would make them soon perceive what despicable creatures our common rhymers and play-writers be; and show them what religious, what glorious and magnificent use might be made of poetry, both in divine and human things. From hence, and not till now, will be the right season of forming them to be able writers and composers in every excellent matter, when they shall be thus fraught with an universal insight into things: or whether they be to speak in parliament or council, honour and attention would be waiting on their lips. There would then appear in pulpits other visages, other gestures, and stuff otherwise wrought, than we now sit under, oft-times to as great a trial of our patience as any other that they preach to us. These are the studies wherein our noble and our gentle youth ought to bestow their time in a disciplinary way from twelve to one-and-twenty, unless they rely more upon their ancestors dead than upon themselves living. In which methodical

course it is so supposed they must proceed by the steady pace of learning onward, as at convenient times for memory's sake to retire back into the middle ward, and sometimes into the rear of what they have been taught, until they have confirmed and solidly united the whole body of their perfected knowledge, like the last embattling of a Roman legion. Now will be worth the seeing what exercises and recreations may best agree and become those studies.

THEIR EXERCISE.

The course of study hitherto briefly described is, what I can guess by reading, likest to those ancient and famous schools of Pythagoras, Plato, Isocrates, Aristotle, and such others, out of which were bred such a number of renowned philosophers, orators, historians, poets, and princes all over Greece, Italy, and Asia, besides the flourishing studies of Cyrene and Alexandria. But herein it shall exceed them, and supply a defect as great as that which Plato noted in the commonwealth of Sparta. Whereas that city trained up their youth most for war, and these in their academies and Lycæum all for the gown, this institution of breeding which I here

delineate shall be equally good both for peace and war. Therefore, about an hour and a half ere they eat at noon should be allowed them for exercise, and due rest afterwards; but the time for this may be enlarged at pleasure, according as their rising in the morning shall be early. The exercise which I commend first is the exact use of their weapon, to guard, and to strike safely with edge or point. This will keep them healthy, nimble, strong, and well in breath; is also the likeliest means to make them grow large and tall, and to inspire them with a gallant and fearless courage, which being tempered with seasonable lectures and precepts to make them of true fortitude and patience, will turn into a native and heroic valour, and make them hate the cowardice of doing wrong. They must be also practised in all the locks and gripes of wrestling, wherein Englishmen are wont to excel, as need may often be in fight to tug, to grapple, and to close. And this, perhaps, will be enough wherein to prove and heat their single strength. The interim of unsweating themselves regularly, and convenient rest before meat, may both with profit and delight be taken up in recreating and composing their travailed spirits with the solemn and divine harmonies of music heard or learned, either

whilst the skilful organist plies his grave and fancied descant in lofty fugues, or the whole symphony with artful and unimaginable touches adorn and grace the well-studied chords of some choice composer; sometimes the lute or soft organ-stop, waiting on elegant voices either to religious, martial, or civil ditties, which, if wise men and prophets be not extremely out, have a great power over dispositions and manners to smooth and make them gentle from rustic harshness and distempered passions. The like also would not be unexpedient after meat, to assist and cherish nature in her first concoction, and send their minds back to study in good tune and satisfaction. Where having followed it under vigilant eyes until about two hours before supper, they are, by a sudden alarum or watch-word, to be called out of their military motions, under sky or covert, according to the season, as was the Roman wont; first on foot, then, as their age permits, on horseback to all the art of cavalry; that having in sport, but with much exactness and daily muster, served out the rudiments of their soldiership in all the skill of embattling, marching, encamping, fortifying, besieging, and battering, with all the helps of ancient and modern stratagems, tactics, and warlike maxims, they may, as it were

out of a long war, come forth renowned and perfect commanders in the service of their country. They would not then, if they were trusted with fair and hopeful armies, suffer them for want of just and wise discipline to shed away from about them like sick feathers, though they be never so oft supplied; they would not suffer their empty and unrecruitable colonels of twenty men in a company to quaff out or convey into secret hoards the wages of a delusive list and miserable remnant; yet in the meanwhile to be overmastered with a score or two of drunkards, the only soldiery left about them, or else to comply with all rapines and violences. No, certainly, if they knew aught of that knowledge which belongs to good men or good governors they would not suffer these things. But to return to our own institute. Besides these constant exercises at home, there is another opportunity of gaining experience to be won from pleasure itself abroad: in those vernal seasons of the year, when the air is calm and pleasant, it were an injury and sullenness against nature not to go out and see her riches and partake in her rejoicing with heaven and earth. I should not, therefore, be a persuader to them of studying much then, after two or three years that they have well laid their grounds, but to

ride out in companies with prudent and staid guides to all the quarters of the land, learning and observing all places of strength, all commodities of building and of soil for towns and tillage, harbours, and ports for trade. Sometimes taking sea as far as to our navy, to learn there also what they can in the practical knowledge of sailing and sea-fight. These ways would try all their peculiar gifts of nature, and if there were any secret excellence among them, would fetch it out and give it fair opportunities to advance itself by, which could not but mightily redound to the good of this nation, and bring into fashion again those old admired virtues and excellencies with far more advantage now in this purity of Christian knowledge. Nor shall we then need the monsieurs of Paris to take our hopeful youth into their slight and prodigal custodies, and send them over back again transformed into mimics, apes, and kekshose. But if they desire to see other countries at three or four and twenty years of age, not to learn principles, but to enlarge experience and make wise observation, they will by that time be such as shall deserve the regard and honour of all men where they pass, and the society and friendship of those in all places who are best and most eminent. And

perhaps then other nations will be glad to visit us for their breeding, or else to imitate us in their own country.

Now, lastly, for their diet there cannot be much to say, save only that it would be best in the same house; for much time else would be lost abroad, and many ill habits got; and that it should be plain, healthful, and moderate I suppose is out of controversy.

Thus, Mr. Hartlib, you have a general view in writing, as your desire was, of that which at several times I had discoursed with you concerning the best and noblest way of education; not beginning, as some have done, from the cradle, which yet might be worth many considerations, if brevity had not been my scope. Many other circumstances also I could have mentioned, but this, to such as have the worth in them to make trial, for light and direction may be enough. Only I believe that this is not a bow for every man to shoot in that counts himself a teacher, but will require sinews almost equal to those which Homer gave Ulysses; yet I am withal persuaded that it may prove much more easy in the assay than it now seems at distance, and much more illustrious: howbeit not more difficult than I imagine, and that imagination presents

me with nothing but very happy and very possible according to best wishes, if God have so decreed, and this age have spirit and capacity enough to apprehend.

SONNETS.

I.

WHEN THE ASSAULT WAS INTENDED TO THE CITY.

CAPTAIN or Colonel, or Knight in Arms,
Whose chance on these defenceless doors may seize,
If deed of honour did thee ever please,
Guard them, and him within protect from harms.
He can requite thee; for he knows the charms
That call fame on such gentle acts as these,
And he can spread thy name o'er lands and seas,
Whatever clime the sun's bright circle warms.

Lift not thy spear against the Muses' bower:
The great Emathian conqueror bid spare
The house of Pindarus, when temple and tower
Went to the ground; and the repeated air
Of sad Electra's poet had the power
To save the Athenian walls from ruin bare.

II.

[TO A VIRTUOUS YOUNG LADY.]

LADY, that in the prime of earliest youth
Wisely hast shunned the broad way and the green,
And with those few art eminently seen
That labour up the hill of heavenly Truth,
The better part with Mary and with Ruth
Chosen thou hast; and they that overween,
And at thy growing virtues fret their spleen,
No anger find in thee, but pity and ruth.

Thy care is fixed, and zealously attends
To fill thy odorous lamp with deeds of light,
And hope that reaps not shame. Therefore be sure
Thou, when the Bridegroom with his feastful friends
Passes to bliss at the mid-hour of night,
Hast gained thy entrance, Virgin wise and pure.

III.

TO THE LADY MARGARET LEY.

Daughter to that good Earl, once President
Of England's Council and her Treasury,
Who lived in both unstained with gold or fee,
And left them both, more in himself content,
Till the sad breaking of that Parliament
Broke him, as that dishonest victory
At Chæronea, fatal to liberty,
Killed with report that old man eloquent,

Though later born than to have known the days
Wherein your father flourished, yet by you,
Madam, methinks I see him living yet:
So well your words his noble virtues praise
That all both judge you to relate them true
And to possess them, honoured Margaret.

IV.

ON THE DETRACTION WHICH FOLLOWED UPON MY WRITING CERTAIN TREATISES.

A book was writ of late called *Tetrachordon*,
And woven close, both matter, form, and style;
The subject new: it walked the town a while,
Numbering good intellects; now seldom pored on.
Cries the stall-reader, "Bless us! what a word on
A title page is this!" and some in file
Stand spelling false, while one might walk to Mile-
End Green. Why, is it harder, sirs, than *Gordon*,
Colkitto, or *Macdonnel*, or *Galasp*?
Those rugged names to our like mouths grow sleek
That would have made Quintilian stare and gasp.
Thy age, like ours, O soul of Sir John Cheke,
Hated not learning worse than toad or asp,
When thou taught'st Cambridge and King Edward Greek.

V.

ON THE SAME.

I DID but prompt the age to quit their clogs
By the known rules of ancient liberty,
When straight a barbarous noise environs me
Of owls and cuckoos, asses, apes, and dogs;
As when those hinds that were transformed to frogs
Railed at Latona's twin-born progeny,
Which after held the Sun and Moon in fee.
But this is got by casting pearl to hogs,

That bawl for freedom in their senseless mood,
And still revolt when Truth would set them free.
Licence they mean when they cry Liberty;
For who loves that must first be wise and good:
But from that mark how far they rove we see,
For all this waste of wealth and loss of blood.

VI.

ON THE NEW FORCERS OF CONSCIENCE UNDER THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

Because you have thrown off your Prelate Lord,
And with stiff vows renounced his Liturgy,
To seize the widowed whore Plurality
From them whose sin ye envied, not abhorred,
Dare ye for this adjure the civil sword
To force our consciences that Christ set free,
And ride us with a Classic Hierarchy,
Taught ye by mere A. S. and Rutherford?
Men whose life, learning, faith, and pure intent,
Would have been held in high esteem with Paul
Must now be named and printed heretics
By shallow Edwards and Scotch What-d'ye-call!
But we do hope to find out all your tricks,
Your plots and packing, worse than those of Trent,
That so the Parliament
May with their wholesome and preventive shears
Clip your phylacteries, though baulk your ears,
And succour our just fears,
When they shall read this clearly in your charge:
New *Presbyter* is but old *Priest* writ large.

VII.

TO MR. H. LAWES ON HIS AIRS.

HARRY, whose tuneful and well-measured song
First taught our English music how to span
Words with just note and accent, not to scan
With Midas' ears, committing short and long,
Thy worth and skill exempts thee from the throng,
With praise enough for Envy to look wan;
To after age thou shalt be writ the man
That with smooth air couldst humour best our tongue.

Thou honour'st Verse, and Verse must send her wing
To honour thee, the priest of Phœbus' quire,
That tunest their happiest lines in hymn or story.
Dante shall give Fame leave to set thee higher
Than his Casella, whom he wooed to sing,
Met in the milder shades of Purgatory.

VIII.

ON THE RELIGIOUS MEMORY OF MRS. CATHERINE THOMSON, MY CHRISTIAN FRIEND, DECEASED DECEMBER 16, 1646.

When Faith and Love, which parted from thee never,
Had ripened thy just soul to dwell with God,
Meekly thou didst resign this earthy load
Of death, called life, which us from life doth sever.

Thy works, and alms, and all thy good endeavour,
Stayed not behind, nor in the grave were trod;
But, as Faith pointed with her golden rod,
Followed thee up to joy and bliss for ever.

Love led them on; and Faith, who knew them best
Thy handmaids, clad them o'er with purple beams
And azure wings, that up they flew so drest,
And speak the truth of thee on glorious themes
Before the Judge; who thenceforth bids thee rest,
And drink thy fill of pure immortal streams.

IX.

ON THE LORD GENERAL FAIRFAX, AT THE SIEGE OF COLCHESTER.

Fairfax, whose name in arms through Europe rings,
Filling each mouth with envy or with praise,
And all her jealous monarchs with amaze,
And rumours loud that daunt remotest kings,
Thy firm unshaken virtue ever brings
Victory home, though new rebellions raise
Their Hydra heads, and the false North displays
Her broken league to imp their serpent wings.

O yet a nobler task awaits thy hand
(For what can war but endless war still breed?)
Till truth and right from violence be freed,
And public faith cleared from the shameful brand
Of public fraud. In vain doth Valour bleed,
While Avarice and Rapine share the land.

X.

TO THE LORD GENERAL CROMWELL, MAY, 1652,

ON THE PROPOSALS OF CERTAIN MINISTERS AT THE COMMITTEE FOR PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL.

Cromwell, our chief of men, who through a cloud
Not of war only, but detractions rude,
Guided by faith and matchless fortitude,
To peace and truth thy glorious way hast ploughed,
And on the neck of crownéd Fortune proud
Hast reared God's trophies, and his work pursued,
While Darwen stream, with blood of Scots imbrued,
And Dunbar field, resounds thy praises loud,

And Worcester's laureate wreath: yet much remains
To conquer still; Peace hath her victories
No less renowned than War: new foes arise,
Threatening to bind our souls with secular chains.
Help us to save free conscience from the paw
Of hireling wolves, whose Gospel is their maw.

XI.

TO SIR HENRY VANE THE YOUNGER.

VANE, young in years, but in sage counsel old,
Than whom a better senator ne'er held
The helm of Rome, when gowns, not arms, repelled
The fierce Epirot and the African bold,
Whether to settle peace, or to unfold
The drift of hollow states hard to be spelled;
Then to advise how war may best, upheld,
Move by her two main nerves, iron and gold,

In all her equipage; besides, to know
Both spiritual power and civil, what each means,
What severs each, thou hast learned, which few have done.
The bounds of either sword to thee we owe:
Therefore on thy firm hand Religion leans
In peace, and reckons thee her eldest son.

XII.

ON THE LATE MASSACRE IN PIEDMONT.

Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered saints, whose bones
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold;
Even them who kept thy truth so pure of old,
When all our fathers worshipped stocks and stones,
Forget not: in thy book record their groans
Who were thy sheep, and in their ancient fold
Slain by the bloody Piemontese, that rolled
Mother with infant down the rocks. Their moans
The vales redoubled to the hills, and they
To heaven. Their martyred blood and ashes sow
O'er all the Italian fields, where still doth sway
The triple Tyrant: that from these may grow
A hundredfold, who, having learnt thy way,
Early may fly the Babylonian woe.

XIII.

[ON HIS BLINDNESS.]

When I consider how my light is spent
Ere half my days in this dark world and wide,
And that one talent which is death to hide
Lodged with me useless, though my soul more bent
To serve therewith my Maker, and present
My true account, lest He returning chide,
"Doth God exact day-labour, light denied?"
I fondly ask. But Patience, to prevent

That murmur, soon replies, "God doth not need
Either man's work or his own gifts. Who best
Bear his mild yoke, they serve him best. His state
Is kingly: thousands at his bidding speed,
And post o'er land and ocean without rest;
They also serve who only stand and wait."

XIV.

[TO MR. LAWRENCE.]

LAWRENCE, of virtuous father virtuous son,
Now that the fields are dank, and ways are mire,
Where shall we sometimes meet, and by the fire
Help waste a sullen day, what may be won
From the hard season gaining? Time will run
On smoother, till Favonius reinspire
The frozen earth, and clothe in fresh attire
The lily and rose, that neither sowed nor spun.

What neat repast shall feast us, light and choice,
Of Attic taste, with wine, whence we may rise
To hear the lute well touched, or artful voice
Warble immortal notes and Tuscan air?
He who of those delights can judge, and spare
To interpose them oft, is not unwise.

XV.

[TO CYRIACK SKINNER.]

CYRIACK, whose grandsire on the royal bench
Of British Themis, with no mean applause,
Pronounced, and in his volumes taught, our laws,
Which others at their bar so often wrench;
To-day deep thoughts resolve with me to drench
In mirth that after no repenting draws;
Let Euclid rest, and Archimedes pause,
And what the Swede intend, and what the French.

To measure life learn thou betimes, and know
Toward solid good what leads the nearest way;
For other things mild Heaven a time ordains,
And disapproves that care, though wise in show,
That with superfluous burden loads the day,
And, when God sends a cheerful hour, refrains.

XVI.

[TO THE SAME.]

Cyriack, this three years' day these eyes, though clear,
To outward view, of blemish or of spot,
Bereft of light, their seeing have forgot;
Nor to their idle orbs doth sight appear
Of sun, or moon, or star, throughout the year,
Or man, or woman. Yet I argue not
Against Heaven's hand or will, nor bate a jot
Of heart or hope, but still bear up and steer
Right onward. What supports me, dost thou ask?
The conscience, friend, to have lost them overplied
In Liberty's defence, my noble task,
Of which all Europe rings from side to side.
This thought might lead me through the world's vain mask
Content, though blind, had I no better guide.

XVII.

[ON HIS DECEASED WIFE.]

METHOUGHT I saw my late espoused saint
Brought to me like Alcestis from the grave,
Whom Jove's great son to her glad husband gave,
Rescued from Death by force, though pale and faint.
Mine, as whom washed from spot of child-bed taint
Purification in the Old Law did save,
And such as yet once more I trust to have
Full sight of her in Heaven without restraint,
Came vested all in white, pure as her mind.
Her face was veiled; yet to my fancied sight
Love, sweetness, goodness, in her person shined
So clear as in no face with more delight.
But, oh! as to embrace me she inclined,
I waked, she fled, and day brought back my night.

TRANSLATIONS FROM THE PSALMS.

April, 1648.[1]

Nine of the Psalms done into Metre; wherein all, but what is in a different character, are the very words of the Text. translated from the original.

Psalm LXXX.

1 Thou Shepherd that dost Israel *keep*,
Give ear *in time of need*,
Who leadest like a flock of sheep
Thy loved Joseph's seed,
That sitt'st between the Cherubs *bright*,
Between their wings outspread;
Shine forth, *and from thy cloud give light*,
And on our foes thy dread.

2 In Ephraim's view and Benjamin's,
And in Manasseh's sight,
Awake thy strength, come, and *be seen*
To save us *by thy might.*

3 Turn us again; *thy grace divine*
To us, O God, *vouchsafe;*

Cause thou thy face on us to shine,
And then we shall be safe.

4 Lord God of Hosts, how long wilt thou,
How long wilt thou declare
Thy smoking wrath, *and angry brow,*
Against thy people's prayer?

5 Thou feed'st them with the bread of tears;
Their bread with tears they eat;
And mak'st them largely drink the tears
Wherewith their cheeks are wet.

6 A strife thou mak'st us *and a prey*
To every neighbour foe;
Among themselves they laugh, they play,
And flouts at us they throw.

7 Return us, *and thy grace divine,*
O God of Hosts, *vouchsafe;*
Cause thou thy face on us to shine,
And then we shall be safe.

8 A Vine from Egypt thou hast brought,
Thy free love made it thine,
And drov'st out nations *proud and haut,*
To plant this *lovely* Vine.

9 Thou didst prepare for it a place,
And root it deep and fast,
That it *began to grow apace,*
And filled the land *at last,*

10 With her *green* shade that covered *all*
The hills were *overspread;*
Her boughs as *high as* cedars tall
Advanced their lofty head.
11 Her branches *on the western side*
Down to the sea she sent,
And *upward* to that river *wide*
Her other branches *went.*
12 Why hast thou laid her hedges low,
And broken down her fence,
That all may pluck her, as they go,
With rudest violence?
13 The *tusked* boar out of the wood
Upturns it by the roots;
Wild beasts there browse, and make their food
Her grapes and tender shoots.
14 Return now, God of Hosts; look down
From Heaven, thy seat divine;
Behold *us, but without a frown,*
And visit this *thy* Vine.
15 Visit this Vine, which thy right hand
Hath set, and planted *long,*
And the young branch, that for thyself
Thou hast made firm and strong.
16 But now it is consumed with fire,

And cut *with axes* down;
They perish at thy dreadful ire,
At thy rebuke and frown.

17 Upon the Man of thy right hand
Let thy *good* hand be *laid;*
Upon the Son of Man, whom Thou
Strong for thyself hast made.

18 So shall we not go back from thee
To ways of sin and shame:
Quicken us thou; then *gladly* we
Shall call upon thy Name.

19 Return us, *and thy grace divine,*
Lord God of Hosts, *vouchsafe:*
Cause thou thy face on us to shine,
And then we shall be safe.

Psalm LXXXI

1 To God our strength sing loud *and clear;*
Sing loud to God *our King;*
To Jacob's God, *that all may hear,*
Loud acclamations ring.

2 Prepare a hymn, prepare a song;
The timbrel hither bring;

The *cheerful* psaltery bring along,
And harp *with* pleasant *string.*
3 Blow, *as is wont,* in the new moon,
With trumpets' *lofty sound,*
The appointed time, the day whereon
Our solemn feast *comes round.*
4 This was a statute *given of old*
For Israel *to observe,*
A law of Jacob's God *to hold,*
From whence they might not swerve
5 This he a testimony ordained
In Joseph, *not to change,*
When as he passed through Egypt-land;
The tongue I heard was strange.
6 From burden, *and from slavish toil,*
I set his shoulder free;
His hands from pots, *and miry soil,*
Delivered were *by me.*
7 When trouble did thee sore assail,
On me then didst thou call,
And I to free thee *did not fail,*
And led thee out of thrall.
I answered thee in thunder deep,
With clouds encompassed round;
I tried thee at the water *steep*
Of Meriba *renowned.*

8 Hear, O my people, *hearken well:*
I testify to thee,
Thou ancient stock of Israel,
If thou wilt list to me:
9 Throughout the land of thy abode
No alien God shall be,
Nor shalt thou to a foreign god
In honour bend thy knee.
10 I am the Lord thy God, which brought
Thee out of Egypt-land;
Ask large enough, and I, *besought*
Will grant thy full demand.
11 And yet my people would not *hear,*
Nor hearken to my voice;
And Israel, *whom I loved so dear,*
Misliked me for his choice.
12 Then did I leave them to their will,
And to their wandering mind;
Their own conceits they followed still
Their own devices blind.
13 Oh that my people would *be wise,*
To serve me *all their days!*
And oh that Israel would *advise*
To walk my *righteous* ways!
14 Then would I soon bring down their foes,
That now so proudly rise,

And turn my hand against *all those*
That are their enemies.
Who hate the Lord should *then be fain*
To bow to him and bend;
But *they, his people, should remain;*
Their time should have no end.
And he would feed them *from the shock*
With flour of finest wheat,
And satisfy them from the rock
With honey *for their meat.*

Psalm LXXXII.

God in the great assembly stands
Of kings and lordly states;
Among the gods on both his hands
He judges and debates.
How long will ye pervert the right
With judgment false and wrong,
Favouring the wicked *by your might,*
Who thence grow bold and strong?
Regard the weak and fatherless;
Despatch the poor man's cause;

And raise the man in deep distress
By just and equal laws.
4 Defend the poor and desolate,
And rescue from the hands
Of wicked men the low estate
Of him *that help demands.*
5 They know not, nor will understand;
In darkness they walk on;
The earth's foundations all are moved,
And out of order gone.
6 I said that ye were gods, yea all
The Sons of God Most High;
7 But ye shall die like men, and fall
As other princes *die.*
Rise, God; judge thou the earth in might;
This *wicked* earth redress;
For thou art he who shalt by right
The nations all possess.

Psalm LXXXIII.

1 Be not thou silent *now at length;*
O God, hold not thy peace:
Sit thou not still, O God *of strength;*
We cry and do not cease.

2 For lo! thy *furious* foes *now* swell,
And storm outrageously;
And they that hate thee, *proud and fell,*
Exalt their heads full high.

3 Against thy people they contrive
Their plots and counsels deep;
Them to ensnare they chiefly strive
Whom thou dost hide and keep.

4 "Come, let us cut them off," say they,
"Till they no nation be:
That Israel's name for ever may
Be lost in memory."

5 For they consult with all their might,
And all as one in mind
Themselves against thee they unite,
And in firm union bind.

6 The tents of Edom and the brood
Of *scornful* Ishmael,

Moab with them of Hagar's blood,
That in the desert dwell,
7 Gebal and Ammon *there conspire,*
And, *hateful* Amalec,
The Philistines, and they of Tyre,
Whose bounds the sea doth check.
8 With them *great* Ashur also bands,
And doth confirm the knot;
All these have lent their armed hands
To aid the sons of Lot.
9 Do to them as to Midian *bold,*
That wasted all the coast;
To Sisera, and as *is told*
Thou didst to Jabin's *host,*
When at the brook of Kishon *old*
They were repulsed and slain,
10 At Endor quite cut off, and rolled
As dung upon the plain.
11 As Zeb and Oreb evil sped,
So let their princes speed;
As Zeba and Zalmunna *bled,*
So let their princes *bleed.*
12 *For they amidst their pride* have said,
"By right now shall we seize
God's houses, and *will now invade*
Their stately palaces."

13 My God, oh make them as a wheel;
No quiet let them find;
Giddy and *restless* let *them reel*,
Like stubble from the wind.
14 *As, when* an *aged* wood takes fire
Which on a sudden strays,
The *greedy* flame runs higher and higher,
Till all the mountains blaze;
15 So with thy whirlwind them pursue,
And with thy tempest chase;
16 And till they yield thee honour due,
Lord, fill with shame their face.
17 Ashamed and troubled let them be,
Troubled and shamed for ever,
Ever confounded, and so die
With shame, *and scape it never.*
18 Then shall they know that thou, whose name
Jehovah is, alone
Art the Most High, *and thou the same*
O'er all the earth *art One.*

Psalm LXXXIV.

1 How lovely are thy dwellings fair!
O Lord of Hosts, how dear
The *pleasant* tabernacles are
Where thou dost dwell so near!
2 My soul doth long and almost die
Thy courts, O Lord, to see;
My heart and flesh aloud do cry,
O living God, for thee.
3 There even the sparrow, *freed from wrong,*
Hath found a house of *rest;*
The swallow there, to lay her young,
Hath built her *brooding* nest;
Even *by* thy altars, Lord of Hosts,
They find their safe abode;
And home they fly from round the coasts
Toward thee, my King, my God.
4 Happy who in thy house reside,
Where thee they ever praise!
5 Happy whose strength in thee doth bide,
And in their hearts thy ways!
6 They pass through Baca's *thirsty* vale,
That dry and barren ground,

As through a fruitful watery dale
Where springs and showers abound.
7 They journey on from strength to strength
With joy and gladsome cheer,
Till all before *our* God *at length*
In Sion do appear.
8 Lord God of Hosts, hear *now* my prayer,
O Jacob's God, give ear:
9 Thou, God, our shield, look on the face
Of thy anointed *dear.*
10 For one day in thy courts *to be*
Is better *and more blest*
Than *in the joys of vanity*
A thousand days *at best.*
I in the temple of my God
Had rather keep a door,
Than dwell in tents *and rich abode*
With sin *for evermore.*
11 For God, the Lord, both sun and shield,
Gives grace and glory *bright;*
No good from them shall be withheld
Whose ways are just and right.
12 Lord God of Hosts *that reign'st on high,*
That man is *truly* blest
Who *only* on thee doth rely,
And in thee only rest.

Psalm LXXXV.

1 Thy land to favour graciously
Thou hast not, Lord, been slack;
Thou hast from *hard* captivity
Returnéd Jacob back.
2 The iniquity thou didst forgive
That wrought thy people woe,
And all their sin *that did thee grieve*
Hast hid *where none shall know.*
3 Thine anger all thou hadst removed,
And *calmly* didst return
From thy fierce wrath, which we had proved
Far worse than fire to burn.
4 God of our saving health and peace,
Turn us, and us restore;
Thine indignation cause to cease
Toward us, *and chide no more.*
5 Wilt thou be angry without end,
For ever angry thus?
Wilt thou thy frowning ire extend
From age to age on us?
6 Wilt thou not turn and *hear our voice,*
And thus again revive,

That so thy people may rejoice,
By thee preserved alive?
7 Cause us to see thy goodness, Lord;
To us thy mercy show;
Thy saving health to us afford,
And life in us renew.
8 *And now* what God the Lord will speak
I will *go straight and* hear,
For to his people he speaks peace,
And to his saints *full dear;*
To his dear saints he will speak peace:
But let them never more
Return to folly, *but surcease*
To trespass as before.
9 Surely to such as do him fear
Salvation is at hand,
And glory shall *ere long appear*
To dwell within our land.
10 Mercy and Truth *that long were missed,*
Now *joyfully* are met;
Sweet Peace and Righteousness have kissed,
And hand in hand are set.
11 Truth from the earth *like to a flower*
Shall bud and blossom *then;*
And Justice from her heavenly bower
Look down *on mortal men.*

12 The Lord will also then bestow
Whatever thing is good;
Our land shall forth in plenty throw
Her fruits *to be our food.*
13 Before him Righteousness shall go,
His royal harbinger:
Then will he come and not be slow;
His footsteps cannot err.

Psalm LXXXVI.

1 Thy *gracious* ear, O Lord, incline;
O hear me, *I thee pray;*
For I am poor, and almost pine
With need *and sad decay.*
2 Preserve my soul; for I have trod
Thy ways, and love the just;
Save thou thy servant, O my God,
Who *still* in thee doth trust.
3 Pity me, Lord, for daily thee
I call; (4) Oh make rejoice
Thy servant's soul! for, Lord, to thee
I lift my soul *and voice.*

5 For thou art good: thou, Lord, art prone
To pardon; thou to all
Art full of mercy, thou *alone*,
To them that on thee call.
6 Unto my supplication, Lord,
Give ear, and to the cry
Of my *incessant* prayers afford
Thy hearing graciously.
7 I, in the day of my distress,
Will call on thee *for aid;*
For thou will *grant* me *free access*,
And answer *what I prayed.*
8 Like thee among the gods is none,
O Lord; nor any works
Of all that other gods have done
Like to thy *glorious* works.
9 The nations all whom thou hast made
Shall come, *and all shall frame*
To bow them low before thee, Lord,
And glorify thy name.
10 For great thou art, and wonders great
By thy strong hand are done;
Thou *in thy everlasting seat*
Remainest God alone.
11 Teach me, O Lord, thy way *most right;*
I in thy truth will bide;

To fear thy name my heart unite;
So shall it never slide.
12 Thee will I praise, O Lord my God,
Thee honour and adore
With my whole heart, and blaze abroad
Thy name for evermore.
13 For great thy mercy is toward me,
And thou hast freed my soul,
Ev'n from the lowest hell set free,
From deepest darkness foul.
14 O God, the proud against me rise,
And violent men are met
To seek my life, and in their eyes
No fear of thee have set.
15 But thou, Lord, art the God most mild,
Readiest thy grace to show,
Slow to be angry, and *art styled*
Most merciful, most true.
16 O turn to me *thy face at length,*
And me have mercy on;
Unto thy servant give thy strength,
And save thy handmaid's son.
17 Some sign of good to me afford,
And let my foes *then* see,
And be ashamed, because thou, Lord,
Dost help and comfort me.

Psalm LXXXVII.

1 Among the holy mountains *high*
Is his foundation fast;
There seated in his sanctuary,
His temple there is placed.
2 Sion's *fair* gates the Lord loves more
Than all the dwellings *fair*
Of Jacob's *land, though there be store,*
And all within his care.
3 City of God, most glorious things
Of thee *abroad* are spoke.
I mention Egypt, *where proud kings*
Did our forefathers yoke;
4 I mention Babel to my friends,
Philistia *full of scorn,*
And Tyre, with Ethiop's *utmost ends:*
Lo! this man there was born.
5 But *twice that praise shall in our ear*
Be said of Sion *last:*
This and this man was born in her;
High God shall fix her fast.
6 The Lord shall write it in a scroll,
That ne'er shall be out-worn,

When he the nations doth enroll,
That this man there was born.
7 Both they who sing and they who dance
With sacred songs are there;
In thee *fresh brooks and soft streams glance,*
And all my fountains *clear.*

Psalm LXXXVIII.

1 Lord God, that dost me save and keep,
All day to thee I cry,
And all night long before thee *weep,*
Before thee *prostrate lie.*
2 Into thy presence let my prayer,
With sighs devout, ascend;
And to my cries, that *ceaseless are,*
Thine ear with favour bend.
3 For, cloyed with woes and trouble store,
Surcharged my soul doth lie;
My life, *at death's uncheerful door,*
Unto the grave draws nigh.
4 Reckoned I am with them that pass
Down to the *dismal* pit;

I am a man, but weak, alas!
And for that name unfit,
From life discharged and parted quite
Among the dead *to sleep*,
And like the slain *in bloody fight*
That in the grave lie *deep;*
Whom thou remembrest no more,
Dost never more regard:
Them, from thy hand delivered o'er,
Death's hideous house hath barred.
Thou, in the lowest pit *profound*,
Hast set me *all forlorn*,
Where thickest darkness *hovers round*,
In horrid deeps *to mourn.*
Thy wrath, *from which no shelter saves*,
Full sore doth press on me;
Thou break'st upon me all thy waves,
And all thy waves break me.
Thou dost my friends from me estrange,
And mak'st me odious,
Me to them odious, *for they change*,
And I here pent up thus.
Through sorrow and affliction great
Mine eye grows dim and dead;
Lord, all the day I thee entreat,
My hands to thee I spread.

10 Wilt thou do wonders on the dead?
Shall the deceased arise
And praise thee *from their loathsome bed*
With pale and hollow eyes?
11 Shall they thy lovingkindness tell
On whom the grave *hath hold?*
Or they *who* in perdition *dwell*
Thy faithfulness *unfold?*
12 In darkness can thy mighty *hand*
Or wondrous acts be known?
Thy justice in the *gloomy* land
Of *dark* oblivion?
13 But I to thee, O Lord, do cry
Ere yet my life be spent;
And *up to thee* my prayer *doth hie*
Each morn, and thee prevent.
14 Why wilt thou, Lord, my soul forsake
And hide thy face from me,
15 That am already bruised, and shake
With terror sent from thee;
Bruised and afflicted, and *so low*
As ready to expire,
While I thy terrors undergo,
Astonished with thine ire?
16 Thy fierce wrath over me doth flow;
Thy threatenings cut me through:

17 All day they round about me go;
Like waves they me pursue.
18 Lover and friend thou hast removed,
And severed from me far:
They *fly me now* whom I have loved,
And as in darkness are.

Psalm I.

Done into verse 1653.

Blest is the man who hath not walked astray
In counsel of the wicked, and i' the way
Of sinners hath not stood, and in the seat
Of scorners hath not sat; but in the great
Jehovah's Law is ever his delight,
And in his law he studies day and night.
He shall be as a tree which planted grows
By watery streams, and in his season knows
To yield his fruit; and his leaf shall not fall;
And what he takes in hand shall prosper all.
Not so the wicked; but, as chaff which fanned
The wind drives, so the wicked shall not stand
In judgment, or abide their trial then,
Nor sinners in the assembly of just men.

For the Lord knows the upright way of the just,
And the way of bad men to ruin must.

Psalm II.

Done August 8, 1653.—*Terzetti.*

Why do the Gentiles tumult, and the nations
Muse a vain thing, the kings of the earth upstand
With power, and princes in their congregations
Lay deep their plots together through each land
Against the Lord and his Messiah dear?
"Let us break off," say they, "by strength of hand,
Their bonds, and cast from us, no more to wear,
Their twisted cords." He who in Heaven doth dwell
Shall laugh; the Lord shall scoff them, then severe
Speak to them in his wrath, and in his fell
And fierce ire trouble them. "But I," saith he,
"Anointed have my King (though ye rebel)
On Sion my holy hill." A firm decree
I will declare: the Lord to me hath said,

"Thou art my Son; I have begotten thee
This day; ask of me, and the grant is made:
As thy possession I on thee bestow
The Heathen, and, as thy conquest to be swayed,
Earth's utmost bounds: them shalt thou bring full low
With iron sceptre bruised, and them disperse
Like to a potter's vessel shivered so."
And now be wise at length, ye kings averse;
Be taught, ye judges of the earth; with fear
Jehovah serve, and let your joy converse
With trembling; kiss the Son, lest he appear
In anger, and ye perish in the way,
If once his wrath take fire, like fuel sere.
Happy all those who have in him their stay.

Psalm III.

August 9, 1653.

When he fled from Absalom.

Lord, how many are my foes!
How many those
That in arms against me rise!
Many are they

That of my life distrustfully thus say,
"No help for him in God there lies."
But thou, Lord, art my shield, my glory;
Thee, through my story,
The exalter of my head I count:
Aloud I cried
Unto Jehovah; he full soon replied,
And heard me from his holy mount.
I lay and slept; I waked again:
For my sustain
Was the Lord. Of many millions
The populous rout
I fear not, though, encamping round about,
They pitch against me their pavilions.
Rise, Lord; save me, my God! for thou
Hast smote ere now
On the cheek-bone all my foes,
Of men abhorred
Hast broke the teeth. This help was from the Lord;
Thy blessing on thy people flows.

Psalm IV.

August 10, 1653.

Answer me when I call,
God of my righteousness;
In straits and in distress
Thou didst me disenthrall
And set at large: now spare,
Now pity me, and hear my earnest prayer.
Great ones, how long will ye
My glory have in scorn?
How long be thus forborne
Still to love vanity?
To love, to seek, to prize
Things false and vain, and nothing else but lies?
Yet know the Lord hath chose,
Chose to himself apart,
The good and meek of heart
(For whom to choose he knows);
Jehovah from on high
Will hear my voice what time to him I cry.
Be awed, and do not sin;
Speak to your hearts alone
Upon your beds, each one,

And be at peace within.
Offer the offerings just
Of righteousness, and in Jehovah trust.
Many there be that say
"Who yet will show us good?"
Talking like this world's brood;
But, Lord, thus let me pray:
On us lift up the light,
Lift up the favour, of thy count'nance bright.
Into my heart more joy
And gladness thou hast put
Than when a year of glut
Their stores doth over-cloy,
And from their plenteous grounds
With vast increase their corn and wine abounds
In peace at once will I
Both lay me down and sleep;
For thou alone dost keep
Me safe where'er I lie:
As in a rocky cell
Thou, Lord, alone in safety mak'st me dwell.

Psalm V.

August 12, 1653.

Jehovah, to my words give ear,
My meditation weigh;
The voice of my complaining hear,
My King and God, for unto thee I pray.
Jehovah, thou my early voice
Shalt in the morning hear;
I' the morning I to thee with choice
Will rank my prayers, and watch till thou appear.
For thou art not a God that takes
In wickedness delight;
Evil with thee no biding makes;
Fools or mad men stand not within thy sight.
All workers of iniquity
Thou hat'st; and them unblest
Thou wilt destroy that speak a lie;
The bloody and guileful man God doth detest.
But I will in thy mercies dear,
Thy numerous mercies, go
Into thy house; I, in thy fear,
Will towards thy holy temple worship low.
Lord, lead me in thy righteousness,

Lead me because of those
That do observe if I transgress;
Set thy ways right before where my step goes.
For in his faltering mouth unstable
No word is firm or sooth;
Their inside, troubles miserable;
An open grave their throat, their tongue they smooth.
God, find them guilty; let them fall
By their own counsels quelled;
Push them in their rebellions all
Still on; for against thee they have rebelled.
Then all who trust in thee shall bring
Their joy, while thou from blame
Defend'st them: they shall ever sing,
And shall triumph in thee, who love thy name.
For thou, Jehovah, wilt be found
To bless the just man still:
As with a shield thou wilt surround
Him with thy lasting favour and good will.

Psalm VI.

August 13, 1653.

Lord, in thy anger do not reprehend me,
Nor in thy hot displeasure me correct;
Pity me, Lord, for I am much deject,
And very weak and faint; heal and amend me:
For all my bones, that even with anguish ache,
Are troubled; yea, my soul is troubled sore;
And thou, O Lord, how long? Turn, Lord, restore
My soul: oh, save me, for thy goodness' sake!
For in death no remembrance is of thee;
Who in the grave can celebrate thy praise?
Wearied I am with sighing out my days;
Nightly my couch I make a kind of sea;
My bed I water with my tears; mine eye
Through grief consumes, is waxen old and dark
I' the midst of all mine enemies that mark.
Depart, all ye that work iniquity,
Depart from me; for the voice of my weeping
The Lord hath heard; the Lord hath heard my prayer;
My supplication with acceptance fair
The Lord will own, and have me in his keeping.

Mine enemies shall all be blank, and dashed
With much confusion; then, grown red with shame,
They shall return in haste the way they came,
And in a moment shall be quite abashed.

Psalm VII.

August 14, 1653.

Upon the words of Chush the Benjamite against him.

Lord, my God, to thee I fly;
Save me, and secure me under
Thy protection while I cry;
Lest, as a lion (and no wonder),
He haste to tear my soul asunder,
Tearing and no rescue nigh.

Lord, my God, if I have thought
Or done this; if wickedness
Be in my hands; if I have wrought
Ill to him that meant me peace;
Or to him have rendered less,
And not freed my foe for naught:

Let the enemy pursue my soul,
And overtake it; let him tread
My life down to the earth, and roll
In the dust my glory dead,
In the dust, and there outspread
Lodge it with dishonour foul.

Rise, Jehovah, in thine ire;
Rouse thyself amidst the rage
Of my foes that urge like fire;
And wake for me, their fury assuage;
Judgment here thou didst engage
And command, which I desire.

So the assemblies of each nation
Will surround thee, seeking right:
Thence to thy glorious habitation
Return on high, and in their sight.
Jehovah judgeth most upright
All people from the world's foundation.

Judge me, Lord; be judge in this
According to thy righteousness,
And the innocence which is
Upon me: cause at length to cease
Of evil men the wickedness,
And their power that do amiss.

But the just establish fast,
Since thou art the just God that tries
Hearts and reins. On God is cast
My defence, and in him lies;
In him who, both just and wise,
Saves the upright of heart at last.

God is a just judge and severe,
And God is every day offended;
If the unjust will not forbear,
His sword he whets; his bow hath bended
Already, and for him intended
The tools of death that waits him near.

(His arrows purposely made he
For them that persecute.) Behold
He travails big with vanity;
Trouble he hath conceived of old
As in a womb, and from that mould
Hath at length brought forth a lie.

He digged a pit, and delved it deep,
And fell into the pit he made:
His mischief, that due course doth keep,
Turns on his head: and his ill trade
Of violence will undelayed
Fall on his crown with ruin steep.

Then will I Jehovah's praise
According to his justice raise,
And sing the Name and Deity
Of Jehovah the Most High.

PSALM VIII.

August 14, 1653.

O JEHOVAH our Lord, how wondrous great
And glorious is thy name through all the earth,
So as above the heavens thy praise to set!
Out of the tender mouths of latest birth,
Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings thou
Hast founded strength, because of all thy foes,
To stint the enemy, and slack the avenger's brow,
That bends his rage thy providence to oppose.

When I behold thy heavens, thy fingers' art,
The moon and stars, which thou so bright hast set
In the pure firmament, then saith my heart,
Oh, what is man that thou rememberest yet
And think'st upon him, or of man begot
That him thou visit'st, and of him art found?
Scarce to be less than gods thou mad'st his lot;
With honour and with state thou hast him crowned.

O'er the works of thy hand thou mad'st him lord;
Thou hast put all under his lordly feet,
All flocks and herds, by thy commanding word,
All beasts that in the field or forest meet,
Fowl of the heavens, and fish that through the wet
Sea-paths in shoals do slide, and know no dearth.
O Jehovah our Lord, how wondrous great
And glorious is thy name through all the earth!

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